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EIKON OF CHRIST

Saved from Church of Aghia Eleousa, Edessa, destroyed  
in 1944.

*Courtesy of Peter Hammond.*



# THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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## THE CHURCH AND THE HELLENIC TRADITION

PÈRE DANIELOU speaking on this subject in London said: 'You may say that Hellenism concerns the East and not us, but this is precisely what I contest. Hellenism is ours. It belongs wholly to the *catholica*. And it is just because we have not understood this fact that cultural separation between the Eastern and the Western Church has been allowed to deepen, and has resulted in doctrinal schism. For our part, we shall work in the heart of the Roman Church for the renewal of the Christian-Hellenist stream (vid. *The Tablet* 29th September 1951). All the articles in this issue will have some bearing on this title.

## ST GREGORY OF NYSSA AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE IMAGE

IT was to be hoped at least—if not perhaps confidently expected—that the two remarkable studies, published in Paris during the war, on the work of St Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>1</sup> might awaken reverberations of a more lasting kind than those merely of book reviews and *comptes rendus*. There is a certain fulfilment of this hope in the slim volume now before us.<sup>2</sup> The work of a professor in the Jesuit Theo-

<sup>1</sup> Hans von Balthasar (s.j.): *Présence et Pensée*: Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de St Grégoire de Nysse; Paris, Beauchesne, 1942, and Jean Daniélou (s.j.): *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*: Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de St Grégoire de Nysse; Aubier, 1944.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Leys, s.j.: *L'IMAGE de DIEU chez Saint Grégoire de Nysse*: Esquisse d'une doctrine; *Museum Lessianum*—Section Théologique No. 49; Brussels, L'Edition Universelle, 1951. Pp. 146.

ligical College at Louvain, it is of a less comprehensive scope than either of the two studies just mentioned: concerning itself exclusively with but one specific doctrine. That doctrine, however, as the author justly observes, is at the centre, is indeed the mainspring, of all that complex and powerfully vital body of thought which is the work of the great Cappadocian; and it is treated here with a grasp and sense of awareness very satisfying in themselves, yet productive also of a strong desire for the more extensive and definitive work on this same subject which it seems clearly in the author's power to give us.

An impressive bibliography gives an initial glimpse of the very complete background of modern and contemporary studies, against which—and now among which—this one takes up its stand; while, in the course of the work itself, the variety and fullness of the citations, drawn at large from the entire *corpus* of St Gregory's writings, testify in their turn to the quality and extent of the scholarship which has gone to its making. Père Leys, in his introduction, hints at the preparation of a more extensive work on the doctrine of the 'image', apparently of an historical character; but greatly acceptable though this would certainly be, one could desire even more strongly a fuller and—may one say? more 'permanent' treatment of the doctrine as developed by the greatest perhaps of all its Christian exponents, St Gregory himself.

That the present 'sketch' owes its being in large measure to the stimulus derived from a close survey of recent studies on St Gregory—notably of the two first mentioned here, but also of others of yet later date—its author expressly admits; and this may well account for a certain interim character, if one may put it so, in much of his own writing; with its tone, sometimes a little sharp, of criticism and disputation. It is perhaps to be allowed, however, that numerous passages thus characterized may be merely so many evidences of the author's absorption with his matter; it seems to be out of the variety of stubbornly-held points of view, and from the *mêlée* of opinions, often almost indistinguishably similar that, in the academic sphere at least, the truth is fated to emerge. Nevertheless, one must gratefully testify to the unmistakable anxiety, everywhere apparent throughout the book, that this crucial doctrine shall find accurate exposition—that there is nowhere any distortion or attenuation of it in the interests of later theories, of whatsoever kind.

The planning of this sketch is a model of lucidity, and could well support, without essential alteration, that greater fullness of development in the parts, which the subject really requires. It is with the extent of its author's more specifically 'Gregorian' scholarship that one is perhaps most of all impressed; and the suggestion springs naturally to the mind that, if the space now occupied by detailed criticisms of its more recent precursors might be devoted to a vernacular translation (as in the studies of Père von Balthasar and Père Daniélou) of the many citations now given only in St Gregory's Greek, the book could reach a wider public, and would gain immeasurably through the sense of a deeper and more richly spiritual atmosphere. Perhaps Père Leys will consider such a suggestion for that larger study which we must all hope that he will give us.

In his introduction, the author criticizes (p. 18) certain recent writers for limiting their treatment of this doctrine too exclusively to the anthropological plane, 'even though the "image" plays an important role . . . in Trinitarian, Christological and ecclesiological doctrine'. Yet in his own slender volume, it is surely most significant that, of Part II, pages 59 to 119 are devoted to the chapter on 'anthropology'; while Chapters ii and iii, dealing with 'ecclesiology' and the 'Trinitarian and Christological' aspects, comprise respectively two and seven pages! And after all—even with the best will in the world—how should it be otherwise? is there any doctrinal issue more deeply and inevitably embedded in the 'anthropological' than that of 'man in the image of God'? In fact the degree of realism thus unintentionally exhibited is one of this book's best titles to consideration; more especially at this day and in Western Europe, before the manifest inadequacy of a philosophic and theological thought in which a genuine anthropology scarcely finds a place. As regards the relationship of this doctrine to the individual soul; in the first place of all—antedating, by many ages, the origin of the Christian Church itself—there are the dark words on the first page of the primal revelation: 'and God said, Let us make man in our image and likeness'. There are the words, antecedent by long ages to any possible development, ecclesiological or of any kind other than that which is inherent to and implicit within the individual human subject. (It is a salutary thought, in face of our present pre-occupations with the totalitarian and the collective, of whatever shade!) Yet the greater portion of the history of Christian thought,

especially here in the West, is that of the theories and systems hatched in more or less complete disregard of them.

It is to be noted that Père Leys (he too) seems to find 'the doctrine of the image', as a living influence, to have died out in Western Europe about the middle of the twelfth century, with the passing of William of St Thierry and his friend, St Bernard—except for the 'strange echoes which one seems to perceive with Ruysbroeck and John of the Cross': (Introd. p. 15). After the two first-named, the last of the Western exponents of the 'metaphysics' of the image, the doctrine would seem—despite its roots in the subsoil of the Christian revelation—to have been regarded as a part of the 'Platonic tradition', and therefore to be smothered, stamped out, or driven underground with the rest. Yet the words themselves remain: they may be ignored: they may be—indeed have been at times—acknowledged by a bare lip-service: they cannot be explained away.

From their initial application to the individual soul, the same words reach out to apply to the human totality—the *pleroma*—ὁ καθόλου: and the relevant pages (78–92) of Père Ley's study are here of the utmost interest. For if, in one sense, the Christian Church may be considered (as is most commonly the case at the present day), or may itself claim, to be the appointed organ for the progressive realization of this 'image' in the sum and aggregate of humanity during the course of the world-process, according to another sense—profounder perhaps and more vital, since it is the eschatological sense—it is (or ought to be) at all or any of the points of time, the living *consensus* of all the individual human souls: not merely in process of blind leading and unconscious formation, but each one in full consciousness of his—or her—own individual status as a created image, and of that intimate and inalienable nexus with his, or her, Creator, which is inherent in and peculiar to each individual 'image' as such; and this with its inescapable corollary of full personal responsibility.

That Père Leys may entertain a conception of the Church approximating in some degree to this appears likely from his own brief chapter on ecclesiology. After remarking on the absence from Gregory's writings of any explicit reference to the Church as 'image', and on the consequent necessity of a resort to logical deduction for the purpose of arriving at his views in this regard, he then asks: 'where does one see the true image of the Church, if not—since "the Kingdom of God is within you"—within oneself? One can perceive it

also in others', he continues, 'but always starting from an inference by which we recognize them as like, or more like, or at least as akin, to that Divine which we bear within us. Gregory himself does not trace this connexion, but we believe an "interior" perception of the Church to be alone in accord with the logic of his thought' (p. 121). He remarks also (p. 120) that 'this chapter (on ecclesiology) is, at bottom, merely a corollary of the considerations on the *pleroma*'.

It is indeed impossible to overestimate the importance of the issues comprehended by the doctrine of 'man in the image of God', particularly at the present time in our Western valley of doctrinal dry bones (of theories like that e.g. of 'man in a state of pure nature', or of 'man as a part of organic nature'), which can never live again, because they have never corresponded to any recognizable reality in the human subject. For the doctrine of 'man in the image' is born of no mere abstract system; on the contrary, it is rooted inevitably within, and draws its life from, the concrete bases of the human condition; and it is the only doctrine which is capable of corresponding both to the full realities of man's experience in the present fallen state, and to those latent potentialities and capacities, perceptible to him in his higher moments, which are the instruments of his response to the Divine call to return from it.

In the course of a discussion (p. 99) of a point in Père Daniélou's study, on the question of 'the image and grace', the author introduces what seems certainly a very fruitful suggestion. 'One is astonished', he writes, 'that J. Daniélou, in his paragraph on the image (*Plat. et. théol. myst.*, pp. 54-63), while justly remarking that the sexuality has been added to our nature, does not bring forward any of those numerous expressions which mark that grace (too) is not less adventitious. There results a warping of the perspective when he writes that the notion of nature has, with Gregory, "a totally different object from that which it designates in Western theology. For this, the nature comprehends the animal life and the intellectual life—and is set over against the 'supernatural' life, which is added. For Gregory on the contrary, the nature comprehends the intellectual life and the spiritual life—and it is the animal life which is added".' Thus far Père Daniélou. 'We believe', Père Leys continues, 'that for Gregory, the nature ought to be conceived as comprehending neither the supernatural life nor the animal life: it is "between the two" (*μεθόριος*). But it has received the beginnings of both,

and must accomplish itself in self-determination to one of the members of the alternative and in elimination of the other.' Père Leys brings forward (p. 98) a number of citations from Gregory in support of his case and observes on his own part, 'with Gregory it is incontestably grace which makes man in the image of God, while this admits of certain characteristics such as intelligence, liberty, etc., which, in our language, we call "of nature", but which, when assumed into the supernatural finality (intelligence being made to believe, liberty to choose God) no more really deserve that appellation. It is indisputable that he (Gregory) knows nothing of a state of pure nature in history: the world has been created in grace. But it is certain also that this grace makes no part of the essence of the created, that it is foreign to it—is "conferred" upon it, as though upon a pre-existent subject: not, of course, according to a temporal succession, but according to an ontological consideration': (pp. 97-8). Thus, as it would seem, Père Leys brings to light here a very important nuance in the Gregorian doctrine, which is now seen to attribute to man *post peccatum* a median position between the supernatural and the animal, with the onus of choice upon himself. Obviously it must be for scholars to determine from the texts to what extent this interpretation actually represents the views of St Gregory; one may observe, however, that the idea bears at least a close correspondence to the facts of ordinary human experience! Such a view of the human situation receives further strong support in the course of the paragraph on 'free will' (pp. 72-4). There is not space here to pursue this momentous topic: one can only testify to the deep interest of Père Leys' development of it, and to the strong influence apparent in these portions of the book, of Père de Lubac's series of historical studies under the title *Surnaturel*: (an influence perhaps impossible to escape, nowadays, in any attempt to treat of the question of 'nature and grace')!

On the question of a distinction made by the early Fathers between the words 'image and resemblance' (εἰκών καὶ ὁμοίωσις): it appears to have been taken for granted, to a considerable extent, that St Gregory is of those who do not recognize one. So much is this the case, that their failure to find evidence in his writings to the contrary has led a number of scholars to accept this as the sole and sufficient test by which to determine the question of authorship in the case of two disputed homilies; and these have commonly been declared apocryphal on the



ground that this distinction does, in fact, appear in them. In his paragraph on the subject of this distinction itself, however (pp. 116-19), Père Leys adduces eleven citations from the texts (remarking, too, that the list might be extended) to prove that instances of a certain distinction between the two terms are by no means lacking in the authentic writings. He summarizes his findings, which are of considerable interest in themselves, as follows:—'it seems to us that he does distinguish between *εἰκών* and *ὁμοίωσις*, not, certainly, as between two different things, but as between two aspects of the same reality. The first, the *εἰκών*, presents rather the static aspect, original or terminal, of the resemblance with God. The second, the *ὁμοίωσις* . . . is a dynamic notion implying a becoming. The *ὁμοίωσις* is the conquest, or progressive realization of the *εἰκών*' (p. 116). 'They are distinct only temporarily: in this life for the perfect, in heaven at the general resurrection, they will coincide, as they did in the beginning when, time being non-existent, the nature commenced with perfection, its completion "synchronizing" with its birth. The fall having introduced *διάστημα* (or "distension",<sup>1</sup> as Père Leys prefers to call it), the divine image is found again in us as an ideal to be freely re-conquered through the long unrolling of time. This liberty explains the varied degrees of the realization of the image when death surprises men, and the differing quality of their souls, even so far as the day of the general resurrection' (p. 119). 'It is clear, too, that the *ὁμοίωσις* realizing the *εἰκών*, both terms are to be found on the supernatural plane: far from the *εἰκών*, being, as with others of the Fathers, the natural similitude of the reason with God, and the *ὁμοίωσις* the supernatural similitude of grace, it is rather the *εἰκών* which takes the primacy, as that ideal of divine perfection which the *ὁμοίωσις* strives to realize' (loc. cit.).

Père Leys deals in an appendix with the question of the authenticity of the two disputed homilies above referred to. It was in 1936 that the generally accepted critical opinion

<sup>1</sup> If one may be permitted the query: Is the latinism, 'distension', really exact, or even adequate, as a translation of *διάστημα*? Admittedly an exact equivalent is difficult to find; but the word *distension*, at least if given its French valuation, bears no relation at all to the complex idea connoted by the original term in St Gregory's texts. A better, though still very inadequate rendering is that of Père von Balthasar—*espacement*. (Were an English equivalent in question, it is difficult to see how a periphrase could be avoided: e.g. 'dispersal in space and time'.)

was first challenged by the eminent Viennese scholar, Dr Endre von Ivanka, who showed good cause for their attribution to Gregory, and promised further confirmation. This latter not having yet appeared, Père Leys, who accepts Dr von Ivanka's initial views, has himself undertaken to supply it. In a rapid and lucid analysis of the two writings into their main subject-heads, he turns to account the distinction between *εἰκὼν* and *ὁμοίωσις* (as worked out above) as a negative argument against the single traditional objection which stands against their authenticity. But his chief positive contribution to the question is his detailed enumeration of the no less than 'twenty-one authentically Gregorian themes' which form their substance. Both writings are *On the words: Let us make man in our image and resemblance*: and there is no doubt, on comparison with such a treatise as *On the Creation of Man*—not to speak of the apparently decisive arguments for their common source with this latter in a treatise of Posidonius—that the case for their identical authorship appears now almost impossible to set aside. As Père Leys is able to show, moreover, these homilies serve to complete the larger treatise in respect of several issues not fully developed therein. According to Gregory's idea, in the *Creation of Man*, the division of humanity into sexes was wrought by the Creator 'in prevision' of the first sin; and it must be said that one gains the impression of a certain curious contingency as having determined the creation of the human feminine—almost (in a sense, and if one may put it so) as if this were a mere 'by-product' of the Fall! In the first of the two homilies, however, a new development is introduced. In Père Leys' words: 'While elsewhere, he (Gregory) dwells always on the fall from the state of the angelic life brought about by sex, as punishment of sin, in our homily we follow an inverse progression which is nowise in contradiction with the other. If the image has been divided into man and woman, it is true that each sex is in the image. The woman ought not to suffer any inferiority: "if she does those things which are good, she too is in the image". "Soul for soul, man and woman are equal; the difference is only in the veil which covers them". This consideration, encouraging (as Père Leys observes) for the feminine portion of the auditory, and which appears only here, creates no difficulty: it accords entirely with the other... that sex is adventitious by relation to the image' (p. 138). Though there exists, it is true, a profounder—perhaps even a definitive—solution of this deep problem, this is not the



place for further discussion. We must content ourselves with one or two final citations from this valuable study: 'It is not only grace which is "added" to the nature: the carnal condition is not less "added". In the divine intention man was destined to lead a purely angelic life. This was the Earthly Paradise. The multiplication of individuals therein was to be accomplished after the manner of that of the angels' (p. 106). 'This paradisaical, angelic state: did it exist in fact, or only in the divine intention which would destinate humanity thereto? With Krampf and Sutcliffe, we will propose the following interpretation as probable. Even though by His prescience God had foreseen the sin, he did not in the first place create man according to those biological conditions which are now actual with him. Gregory represents to himself, we believe, a historic period of paradisaical life wherein the "protoplastes", in a spiritual body similar to that of the resurrection, gave themselves to contemplation, and united themselves in the praise of God to the choirs of the angels' (p. 107). 'Whatsoever should be the existence of Paradise: real, or only typological, the flesh is as foreign to our true nature as, to the bodies of the protoplastes, were the dead "skins" with which they were covered . . . At the same time chastisement and remedy, it is a violence to our true destiny; for in this insertion of the animal into the spiritual originate those passions which divide a man from himself; and thence takes its birth that uninterrupted flood of transgressions which constitutes history. It will disappear at the end of time when, humanity having attained its *pleroma*, there will be re-established the angelic life of the beginning: (In Gregory's own words): "Look at the times of the end and thou wilt understand those of the beginning". "The final resurrection is no other thing than the re-establishment of the lost Paradise"' (p. 109).

What would seem above all to be necessary, in dealing with this question of 'nature and grace', is an exact definition of the word 'nature'. There can be no real progress until each party in any discussion makes a genuine attempt to reach a clear idea of the precise contents of the term 'human nature', as he intends to use it. (That epoch-making work of Père de Lubac, already mentioned here, throws a pitiless light upon the melancholy record of the question, from the thirteenth century onward, in the West.) It is a particular virtue of this 'sketch' of Père Leys, however, (as e.g. of Père Daniélou's longer study) that it leaves one in no doubt as to St Gregory's definition of the word 'nature': nor, may one add? of his own.

The doctrine of the 'image', as it was left by St Gregory of Nyssa, is the indispensable basis for any attempt to shape a realistic and a Christian 'anthropology', because it begins—where all such enquiry must necessarily begin—*with man as God first created him*. In the West, however, the whole question may be said to have been foredoomed to frustration and sterility from the time of the attempt, in the schools of the thirteenth century, to acclimatize within the Christian ambience the Aristotelian, pagan, conception, which takes, as a fixed norm, man as it finds him—*already fallen*. Along that road—as we now know to our cost in this present day—there can be, in the very nature of things, no progress for a Christian!

Enough has now been said, it is hoped (and enough quoted), to demonstrate the profound interest and importance of this new 'sketch of a doctrine' which reaches down into the depths and touches at all points the fundamental realities of the human situation in this world, and to recommend it to the earnest attention of all who have become within themselves, aware of those realities.

JOHN TRINICK.

### A CHRISTIAN'S TEMPTATION

IN the October 1951 issue of the *Life of the Spirit* there appeared an article with the above title by Mr Donald Nicholl<sup>1</sup> which is in fact a violent attack on some aspects of the Platonic tradition in Christian thought. The article seems to require an answer from a Christian Platonist, and it is desirable that something should be said about it in the *E.C.Q.* in view of the importance of Platonic ways of thinking in Eastern Christian spirituality and thought. The article does not profess to be a complete discussion of Christian Platonism. It concentrates on the question of the Platonic attitude to the body, and it does so with an eye to some ways of thinking and behaving not uncommon among modern Catholics which I agree with Mr Nicholl in finding deplorable and dangerous. But none the less I find his article misleading

<sup>1</sup> The article takes its text from, and purports to be in some sense an appreciation of W. H. V. Reade's *Christian Challenge to Philosophy*. I do not wish what I say here to be taken as in any way necessarily applying to this book, which I have not yet read, but which is clearly worthy of serious attention. It should also be said that the article is published with an editorial note which makes clear that the Editor of *Life of the Spirit* does not altogether endorse the opinions expressed in it.

and likely to be unhelpful to the cause he has at heart because of its exaggerations, distortions and half-truths.

To begin with there is the question of evidence. We are invited to condemn, in most violent and sweeping terms, the opinions about the question under discussion of one of the greatest of Greek philosophers, Plotinus, and of a considerable number of great Saints and Doctors of the Church—in fact it would appear from the concluding paragraphs that we are to dismiss as fundamentally un-Christian practically everything that Christian thinkers before St Thomas had to say on this subject, and a great deal else. But to support this sweeping condemnation we are offered not a single quotation from Plato or Plotinus—only the too well-worn remarks of Porphyry about Plotinus being 'like one ashamed of being in a body'; only one quotation from a 'Platonist' Father, one from St Gregory of Nyssa about the Incarnation, taken at second hand from an article of my own where I tried to make clear that it was not at all adequate, taken in isolation, to represent St Gregory's real thought; some second-hand generalizations about Neo-Platonists and Gnostics (really a very different sort of people. One would think that Mr Nicholl was unaware that Plotinus had written powerfully and admirably against the Gnostics, in *Enneads* ii, 9, in defence of the goodness of the material world) and contemporary nuns; a foolish remark by a Renaissance heretic, Giordano Bruno, who may possibly be regarded as in some sense a Neo-Platonist; and another by a modern French poet, Paul Valéry, who I see no reason to believe to be either a Christian or a Platonist in any real sense. (His description of creation as 'a blemish on the purity of non-being' has nothing to do with authentic Neo-Platonist thought, though it may have been inspired by modern misinterpretations of it.) This way of proceeding is really intolerable when dealing with a serious and extremely complex subject. The article may have been intended to be a popular and edifying rather than a scholarly one (though its apparatus of footnotes gives a spurious impression of scholarship), but this is really no excuse. The popularizer is morally bound to be more, not less, precise and guarded in his judgements than the scholar who sets out all the evidence and discusses it in detail, and if he offers any evidence at all he must make certain that it is genuine and of good quality and fair. (If I have myself offended against these canons in the past, which is only too likely, Mr Nicholl's article has made me repent of it with the utmost heartiness.) And in the long run nothing

except the exact truth is really edifying, really helps the soul. There is altogether too much Catholic writing which, no doubt unconsciously, treats the truth with deplorable casualness in its effort to be prudent or edifying.

The principal ways in which the article appears to me misleading are as follows. It exaggerates the difference between the great traditions of Christian thought—at least as harmful a proceeding as refusing to see differences that are really there. Mr Nicholl says, 'The most constant feature of anti-Christian Neo-Platonism lies in its contempt for the *human* being: in particular, the Neo-Platonist is scornful of the human body—or any other body for that matter (the 'anti-Christian Neo-Platonists' listed to illustrate this statement are Porphyry, St Gregory of Nyssa, Doctor of the Church, and the Cathari, who were Manichaeans and not any sort of Platonists). Now a certain hostility to the earthly, animal body is certainly one mood or moment in the Platonist attitude towards body and the material world in general. But it is not the whole truth about that attitude, and so far from proceeding inevitably from Platonic metaphysics, is not really justifiable on Plato's or Plotinus's own principles, still less of course on those of the great Greek Fathers or St Augustine. For Plato and Plotinus the material universe is good, the best possible work of a good divine intelligence, and the human soul has its duty to do in it, for which the body is its necessary instrument 'which he will care for and bear with as much as he can, like a musician with his lyre, as long as he can use it' (Plotinus *Ennead* i, 4, 16). The attitude to the body here shown is certainly not satisfactory from a Christian point of view, but it cannot just be dismissed as 'scorn'. And the attitude of the 'Christian Platonist' Fathers, above all of St Augustine, is far more satisfactory than that of Plotinus, though they are still inclined to a rather excessive spiritualism and do not realize the full intimacy of the connexion of body and soul and the services which body renders to spirit. Here, I freely admit, St Thomas rendered perhaps his greatest services to Christian philosophy and theology. But the reputation of St Thomas would stand so much higher if it were not for the exaggerations of Thomists! And St Thomas after all believes in the transcendence of eternal being, the absolute primacy of spirit, the complete spirituality of the Vision which is our end, and the need for a complete spiritualization of our bodies before they can 'by a sort of overflowing' share our souls' beatitude. He can say, with

perfect consistency to his general view 'Perfectio autem animae humanae consistit in abstractione quodam a corpore' (*Contra Gentes* 79). He goes on to show that this is true as regards both knowledge and virtue.) For after all St Thomas is a perfectly orthodox Catholic. To read the sort of anti-Platonism which Mr Nicholl purveys would lead one to think that Catholics were bound to believe that we are destined to perceive the Beatific Vision with our bodily senses and to rise unglorified to enjoy an eternity of carnal delights according to the 'error of the Jews, Saracens and Millenarians' (*Contra Gentes* 83). This suggests two more points of some importance. First of all it is certainly not true that the Neo-Platonists despised any sort of body. Plato, quite probably, and the later Neo-Platonists (though not Plotinus) certainly, thought of the proper state of the human soul not as complete disembodiment but embodiment in a celestial or æthereal body<sup>1</sup>; and Plotinus did not think of the heavenly bodies as in any way hampering or degrading their divine intelligences (for him it is not, anyhow, being in the body that corrupts or degrades the soul but being body-minded, egoistically absorbed in the body's cares and desires). And for St Thomas, though our glorified bodies are not strictly speaking celestial bodies, i.e. stars, they will have all the properties of celestial bodies and are to be situated spatially above the stars (*Contra Gentes* 86 end -87). The two doctrines are not the same,<sup>2</sup> but they are much more closely related than Mr Nicholl would allow (I do not of course wish to suggest that St Thomas's teaching about the place of glorified bodies is necessarily the teaching of the Church). And the second and more important point is this. After all the Platonists were right to feel ill at ease in human bodies as they are and in our present relationship to them. The pagans, and even to some extent, perhaps, the Christians, diagnosed the causes of our feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction imperfectly and the pagans were of course certainly wrong in supposing that we could do anything to put things right by our own power. But they were right to recognize the unrest and dissatisfaction, to see that we are not right, not in our proper state, and not at home, not *in patria*,

<sup>1</sup> See my discussion in 'The Soul of Man in Plato, *Downside Review* No. 201, July 1947, pp. 241-3 and the references there given.

<sup>2</sup> In St Thomas there is a real continuity between our present and our glorified bodies which is not to be found in the pagan Platonists. The Christian Platonist Fathers and St Thomas are of course here teaching essentially the same doctrine, the doctrine of the Church: the differences between them are of detail, mood, and emphasis.



here and now and as we are ; and the language in which they expressed this sense of uneasiness has still a permanent value for us (with the necessary corrections and additions), combined as it is with strong and even passionate affirmations of the goodness of the visible world.

There is a good deal that could be said, by way of friendly discussion and with good hope of agreement, about Giordano Bruno's comparison of the fear suffered by our Lord at the Crucifixion and his own fearlessness as he went to execution, and the conclusions Mr Nicholl draws from it about the Christian attitude to suffering and the emotions. But it would be irrelevant here, because Giordano Bruno's attitude is not something peculiar to Neo-Platonism and has no necessary connexion with Platonic metaphysics. It is the normal Greek philosophical attitude to suffering and emotion, deeply rooted in the Greek aristocratic tradition of behaviour, common to both Plato and Aristotle (cp: *Republic* 387-8 with the portrait of the Great-Souled Man in *Nicomachean Ethics* iv 1123 a. 34 ff.) and found in its most extreme form in the Stoics. Giordano Bruno in fact appears to me here more characteristically Stoic than Platonist. And, as almost always when we are dealing with something in the central Greek philosophical tradition with which we are compelled to disagree, there are two sides to this and unqualified and indignant condemnation is not the way to deal with it. There is in it something which is just inhuman and uncreaturely pride, but there is also a noble and right idea of the dignity of man, in whom reason should rule the emotions and not just let them have their way (and that is good Thomism as well as good Platonism).

We now come to the most important, and in some ways the worst, section of Mr Nicholl's article, in which he attacks what he takes to be the fundamental metaphysical error of the 'Christian Neo-Platonists'. He sums this up in a quotation from J. L. Casserley's *The Christian in Philosophy*,<sup>1</sup> according to which the "Christian Neo-Platonist's", objection to Thomist metaphysics (which Mr Nicholl has no right to call 'traditional Christian metaphysics' without explanation or apology) is that it regards 'the natural world in itself rather than as a clue to the character of the Creator'. The question raised here is far too deep and difficult to be dealt with on a basis of attack and defence in the course of this sort of controversial skirmish-

<sup>1</sup> The reference given is wrong, so I have not been able to find the passage or determine its context.

ing. Mr Nicholl and I will have to discover some day what we really mean by saying this sort of thing. I will only say this: that if we insist on a respect for things in themselves (which can mean something right and necessary) in any sense which excludes the full Platonic experience of things as signs of the invisible and eternal God; if we assert God's immanence without immediately and in the same act adverting to His transcendence; then I think we are extremely liable to land either in idolatry (and possibly cosmic pantheism on Stoic lines), or a kind of quasi-deism which leaves God for all practical purposes out of account, or in the conception of the natural and supernatural orders as two separate, closed worlds without vital relationship, in the second of which only do we encounter God in any way which makes it necessary for us to take him seriously. This last way of thinking is unfortunately only too prevalent among Catholics to-day (I do *not* believe that it represents the authentic thought of St Thomas). It has, I believe, a good deal to do with the sort of inhumanity among some contemporary religious which I agree with Mr Nicholl in finding objectionable and dangerous, and which he sums up in a quotation from Fr Rommerskirch, S.J.: 'a sister is first a member of her community, then a virgin blessed by God, then a Christian, and lastly a human being'. I should be inclined to diagnose the ingredients of this state of mind as (1) too much emphasis on canon law, rules and formulae in the life of the Church, combined with the natural tendency of fallen humanity to cliquishness and over-professionalism; (2) the dichotomy of natural and supernatural just referred to (with the corollaries that only the supernatural really matters and that the supernatural life is, generally-speaking, confined to the cloister); (3) Unconscious Manichaeism (much commoner than unconscious Platonic dualism except among the very highly educated: the unconscious Manichaean thinks of the body, and especially of sex, primarily as dirty, the dualistic Platonist primarily as hampering, a nuisance, and essentially unimportant).

Mr Nicholl attaches to his reflections about the Platonic metaphysic of signs some extraordinarily ill-informed remarks about Neo-Platonist religion. To dismiss the religion of Plotinus contemptuously as an affair of 'technique', of 'visions and ecstasies' in some derogatory sense of the words, must seem to anyone who has really read and begun to understand the *Enneads* a piece of grotesque boorishness. Nor does Plotinus identify any part of the human soul with God (i.e.

with the One or Good, who is in his language what we mean by God). And if this language is meant, as it apparently is, to be applied to the religion of the 'Christian Neo-Platonists', to the liturgical and sacramental mysticism of St Gregory of Nyssa and other Greek Fathers or St Augustine's conversation with his mother at Ostia, it can really only be described as sacrilegious. With regard to the little Thomist *fervorino* with which he concludes, I should like to remind Mr Nicholl that it is in the scholastic era and under the direction of clergy whose formation has been at least officially Thomist, that the sort of false spirituality which he is really concerned to oppose has grown up and flourished in the forms in which he is opposing it. We shall not find a spirituality which is too obsessed with method and technique, or a mysticism so disembodied that it never adverts to the Sacraments, in the Greek Fathers. We shall find them very much nearer home. We certainly need the help of St Thomas in dealing with contemporary false spirituality and false chastity, but we need him in a context which he himself would have appreciated, along with his venerated and much-quoted 'Dionysius' and St Augustine and the Greek Fathers, and behind them Plato and Plotinus.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

#### NOTES

Arguments of the 'But I never said . . .' type always seem to engender hard feelings; and so I do not see that there would be any general benefit from my answers to Prof. Armstrong's more personal observations.

The first point I should like to clarify, however, is of general importance. W. H. V. Reade says, 'the discrepancies between Platonism and Christianity, when we get down to first principles, are so radical that only by complete misunderstanding or wilful blindness is it possible to profess allegiance to both'. Etienne Gilson has written, 'Psychologically speaking, one can philosophize as a Neo-Platonist and believe as a Christian; logically speaking, one cannot think, at one and the same time, as a Neo-Platonist and as a Christian' (*Being and Some Philosophers*, p. 31). It was precisely because I feared that such passages might put 'Christian Platonists' into bad faith that I wrote, 'there are of course good Christians who do understand Plato and yet prefer his ideas as a means of stating the faith', and that I then went on to select 'those features of



the Neo-Platonic tradition which *are* incompatible with Christianity whilst leaving aside the question of how far the tradition itself needs to be modified before it can be accepted into Christian thought'. Why Prof. Armstrong chose to ignore these reservations I do not know—I regard them as important, for there is room in the Church for every *temperament* (Aristotelian, Neo-Platonist, enthusiastic, and whatever is the complimentary of enthusiastic, etc.), and I regard it as a grave wrong to make anyone feel unorthodox on account of his particular temperament.

But there is not room in the Church for every *principle*—no room whatsoever for false principles. And though the present occasion is not appropriate to discuss Plotinus, I should have thought it obvious that since 'no historical event could ever be for him of vital and decisive importance', as Prof. Armstrong says, Plotinus' philosophy is to be regarded as a permanent danger to Christians when it enters the Christian tradition. I should also like to point out that the section in which Plotinus attacks the Gnostics is the one in which he professes his polytheism.

Lastly, I gather that several people are glad that this issue of the basic Neo-Platonic metaphysics has been raised. If so, may I suggest that the discussion be kept free of Thomist—anti-Thomist prejudices, and the things themselves be discussed on their own merits! When I quoted St Thomas I had not the slightest intention of touching off that dispute.

DONALD NICHOLL.

[We think it only fair to quote some of the salient points made by Mr Nicholl in his article.—THE EDITOR.]

'But, it may be objected, if Christianity and Neo-Platonism are so clearly irreconcilable, how is it that Neo-Platonism has been allowed to penetrate into our thought?

The answer is that Neo-Platonism has harmed Christian thought by luring Christians into a most attractively "spiritual", but essentially unsound, metaphysics. Here is the real crux of the issue: the Christian Neo-Platonists protest against traditional Christian metaphysics that it regards "the natural world in itself rather than as a clue to the character of the Creator". But the truth is that the Christian Neo-Platonist is here establishing a completely false antithesis upon which metaphysics, moral theology and spiritual teachings are equally likely to founder.'

'Nor is this error in regard to natural things of purely speculative interest; it may have disastrous practical consequences. For, on the face of it, it seems to mean that a human being can have no relations with this remote, "transcendent" God. How does the Neo-Platonist maintain that such relations are possible, in the face of this barrier of transcendence? There is only one way: to maintain that human beings are not really human beings at all, but are really sparks of God (or partly God; the exact phrasing does not matter, so long as it expresses their view that some part of man—his soul, for instance—is *substantially* divine). Once a creature starts thinking of himself in these terms, he is likely to start having visions and ecstasies, but has abandoned Christian teaching. His original exclusive stress upon the transcendence of God has in the end led him to deny that very transcendence by making himself into a god.

The process of error begins, then, with the fundamentally erroneous Neo-Platonic metaphysics which will not accept *things*, in their own being, as the unmistakable witnesses to the immanent transcendent God, but treats them primarily as *signs*. The process ends with the inability to accept the revealed truth when God reveals himself to us in the despised flesh. It is *not* "very remarkable", as Quispel says in discussing two early victims of this error, but almost inevitable, that "Although they wished to be Christians, and knew the Bible well—especially St John's Gospel—they never say that God is love". It is not remarkable, because they began from basically erroneous metaphysical intuition, and so found themselves wandering in a world of Neo-Platonic vision and ecstasies where there was no room for the Christian God, who is love. Not perhaps until St Thomas expressed the basically sound metaphysical intuition of the natural world as a thing to be seen in its own being did the initial Neo-Platonic error stand out in all its nakedness. With St Thomas, men were helped to escape from bondage to visions and ecstasies into the freedom of the God who is love. For St Thomas taught that the two activities which the Neo-Platonist most despises—unsublimated sexuality and worldly business—may be of more eternal worth than the Neo-Platonist's cherished "spirituality", so long as these activities are performed in the service of love.'

(*Life of the Spirit*, October 1951, pp. 133-35.)

## CATHOLICS OF THE BYZANTINE- MELKITE RITE IN THE U.S.A.

### EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the first of a series of four articles in which Father Allen Maloof, a young American Melkite priest, deals in a practical way with the important problem of what is to become of the minority Catholics of Oriental rites living among a large majority of Latin Catholics.

Father Maloof, a Melkite born in the U.S.A., received his early education and his philosophy at Brooklyn, he then studied theology for four years with the Melkite missionaries of St Paul at Harissa in the Lebanon. There he was also in constant contact with the Syrian Catholics at Sharfeh and the Armenians at Bzommar.

This is by no means only a problem for the U.S.A. It presents itself in India and in recent times in Western Europe. Father Maloof therefore renders valuable service by the frank way in which he discusses this matter.

### I

**A**LL those really interested in the affair of the Oriental Church, know the glorious past of those faithful belonging to the Byzantine-Melkite rite. Ever since the Council of Chalcedon, Melkites have been noted for : first, their learning and fidelity to the Orthodox Faith ; secondly, their culture in the externals and spirit of Christian liturgy ;<sup>1</sup> and finally for their heroic effort to preserve and spread that Faith and liturgical culture, in the face of terrific odds. Even through the ravages of Caesaropapism and schism, historians, Mohammedan as well as Christian, assure us that there were always groups of Melkites faithful to the Apostolic See. This union with Rome continued to manifest itself in the correspondence of many of the Melkite patriarchs and their representatives at the 'Re-Union Councils'.

The past always helps us to analyze the present and often affords a clue to the future. This paper is an observation viewing the present group of émigré Melkites in the United States. This body, numbering about thirty thousand, is by far the largest group of Melkites outside the Near East.

At intervals, during the first half of the twentieth century, prelates of both the Melkite and Latin rites have visited this scattered community ; presenting their reports and opinions

to the Sacred Congregation of the Oriental Church, as well as to the Melkite patriarchate. Yet the inadequacy of such cursory visits—of a month or even a year is self-evident. There are the distractions of receptions, banquets, etc.; moreover there are always well-meaning exaggerations on the condition of parishes and omissions of 'dusty corners' during tours; and above all, there is the element of time, with change in its flux. All these elements distort the true picture and present 'mirages' to the sincere and zealous prelate.

Hence the need of a personal observation by one typical of the younger generation of Melkites, born and bred in the American environment. This observation aims at breathing the very atmosphere of the Melkite Church itself, earnestly desiring to be guided and elevated by that greatest of works; the dealing with and saving of priceless eternal souls; the work of the holy priesthood.

### I. A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE PAST

1. Accommodation of the Melkite immigrant to his new environment.

#### A. THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE.<sup>2</sup>

Particularly was this the problem of the clergy—whose duty it was to teach and instruct not only the older generation; but especially the ever-increasing number of the younger generation. Lectures, missals, and translations were badly needed; not only for the younger Melkites but also for Americans in general—who desired to follow the liturgy. Unfortunately (for many reasons)<sup>3</sup> few of these were produced by the Melkite clergy. Consequently many young people<sup>4</sup>—particularly in their teens abandoned their rite and preferred the Latin churches, whose services they could follow with good translations and well-arranged prayer books.

#### B. THE PROBLEM OF MATERIALISM AND LEAKAGE.

The majority of immigrants were poor—and had to begin immediately by working hard; supplying their families with the necessities of life. This preoccupation with business and material things cooled their religious fervour and many were absorbed into the crowd of 'materialists'.

Considerable leakage to the Church was caused by the missionary zeal of Protestants, Free Masons and Orthodox.<sup>5</sup>

## Catholics of the Byzantine-Melkite Rite 195

Leakage to the rite was caused by Melkites (as well as some Latin priests) who were ignorant of their obligations; as prescribed by that section of the Code of Canon Law dealing with the Oriental rites: 'Catholics are to frequent churches of their own rite'. This injunction was simply ignored.

### C. THE PROBLEM OF DECENTRALIZATION.

Each Melkite parish was set up (separated from the others) under the jurisdiction of the local Latin ordinary.<sup>6</sup> Each Melkite priest worked by himself—his brother-priests of the same rite were too segregated to co-operate with him. The average parish numbered two hundred and fifty families—ministered to by one priest. This one priest had to do the best he could under very difficult circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

There is always the tendency of Melkite families to scatter themselves in groups—thus helping to break ties of contact with their priest, church, and rite.<sup>8</sup> Some prefer the Latin rite with its brevity and near location. Others join the ranks of 'Radio-Christians' abandoning social worship altogether.

Societies and sodalities do not seem to keep together. A parochial school seems impossible—children are too scattered and there are no Sisters to teach.<sup>9</sup> There are relatively few vocations (something is wrong—as God is generous) among the younger generation; a very significant fact. Wealth of vocations is a sign of healthy parishes. Lack of vocations indicates poor, lukewarm parish life. Thus in this element of vocation we have a sound criterion by which to judge whether a parish is really fructifying or not.

ALLEN MALOOF.

(to be continued)

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Melkites changed their original rites for the Byzantine. This was due to a variety of ecclesiastical and political causes. However once having changed rite they kept that rite, in its imperial splendour, untainted—up to the present day. 'Syrian' influences, nevertheless, can be detected in their Greek chant.

<sup>2</sup> A distinction must be made between *rite* and *language*. Obviously each rite was originally composed in some language; but rite is *not* language and should not be classified according to language. Often there are many translations and variants of the same rite. This is seen clearly when one compares West with East. In the West one has Latin as the liturgical

language of different rites, e.g. the Roman Gallican and Mozarabic rites. In the East and its environs one often finds the same rite with different languages (e.g. according to the spirit and practice of the Byzantine rite). Thus language is no clue to rite, rather we might apply the principle that rite follows patriarchate : e.g. when the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople extended throughout the Orthodox Church, the rites of Alexandria and Antioch disappeared (except for heretical bodies like the Jacobites) supplanted by the rite of Constantinople.

I would like to add that 'Greek rite' is a confused term. It would be better and more exact if people would call each rite after the name of its place of origin. The term 'Byzantine rite' is preferable and enables variants of this rite to be distinguished more clearly.

As to the above distinction of language and rite—many Melkite priests working in the U.S.A. followed another method. They endeavoured to teach Arabic rather than the rite itself. They found only a lukewarm response on the part of children and parents and were forced to close their schools. One must teach the rite rather than the language. The Orthodox have the liturgy entirely in English—yet it is the same glorious Byzantine rite.

<sup>3</sup> One of the chief reasons was ignorance and lack of appreciation as far as Byzantine studies and liturgy were concerned. In this comment my critique is based on what was *manifested*. (Actions speak louder than words.) Melkite parishes seemed to absorb all the worst tastes of the West. Melkite priests in the U.S. do not seem to have an appreciation of the magnificent Byzantine culture which is theirs. It is worth noting here—that most books on Byzantine studies have been written by Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans and Russians.

Moreover, the Orthodox, better organized and equipped with financial resources, have produced many worth-while books.

<sup>4</sup> A real appreciation of the Melkite rite must be instilled into the younger generation by instruction ; our young people must be shown the beauties and the *mission* of their rite—and its place in the framework of the Church Universal.

<sup>5</sup> A personal grievance against the authorities often was the reason for becoming Orthodox.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the Latin bishops had neither the time nor the specific knowledge in Oriental rites—to really help the Melkite minorities in their respective dioceses to flourish.



## Catholics of the Byzantine-Melkite Rite 197

<sup>7</sup> Often these circumstances are financial. I would like to stress this point of 'money' as there are many in the Near East who are ignorant or ill-informed as regards the economic conditions in America. They think that gold is the *base* metal used in the U.S. Constantly, they send appeals to the 'rich' Melkites '*la-bās*' to build churches and help societies in the Levant. Now—certainly the two communities should help one another and co-operate with each other's works. But the Melkite Church in the U.S. is barely struggling and is terribly handicapped. It lacks organization, schools, even a periodical of its own. It needs its resources for itself—for it has a gigantic task in face of the five million American Orthodox to be reconciled. In the question of building churches—we need new churches in the U.S. Most of the Melkite churches are too small and hardly decorated. In the Levant one pays the workman one dollar a day. In the U.S. the workman demands fifteen dollars a day. Thus one can see the financial problems facing the Melkites in America. Charity begins at home. However, one should not take this axiom to the other extreme. Certainly the Melkite missions and missionaries are worthy of all the help that Americans can give them. Every Melkite church should have a poor box especially dedicated to these missions. It is significant that most of the help that comes to Near Eastern missions—comes from 'Irish' names in the U.S.

<sup>8</sup> In the two great Melkite centres, Brooklyn and Boston, one finds only one large church for each centre. This church must serve the needs of all Melkites—no matter how scattered they might be. Now in each one of these cities one finds several groups (clustered residentially) separated from one another by considerable distance. Often these groups consist of two hundred families. Would it not be better if small chapels, one for each group, replaced the 'one large church' system. In that way the Melkite priest would be able to serve more people of his rite. This could be done alternately in some form of weekly rotation for each group. Better yet, would be a priest for each group, who apart from his immediate ministry would have time for the study and writing about the rite.

<sup>9</sup> I know of the case where three Melkite girls changed their rite in order to enter Latin religious orders. They could have been used to help their own rite—in a school of that rite. However, neither their pastor nor the Latin bishop interested themselves in encouraging these girls to stay in their own rite.

## THE EPIKLESIS

**F**R CYPRIEN KERN, writing in *Irenikon* (Tome XXIV) on the 'Epiklesis' makes these points :

He considers it opportune to attempt a conciliation between the two divergent traditions as to the precise moment of consecration, viewing with favour the more sympathetic attitude on the part of Catholic theologians of recent years towards the Orthodox position. Starting with the history of the problem, he refuses to treat it in archæological terms, but prefers to do so in terms of the mystery of worship, for the liturgy is a living realistic symbol of the Mysteries of Christ. The Epiklesis thus is not a mere ritual detail but a manifestation of the Orthodox faith in the Holy Ghost, Lord and Vivifier, the Power of God and the Source of Sanctification. Not that this tradition of oriental pneumatology must neglect the historical perspective : that, too, should be taken into account, both in the writings of the Fathers and in the liturgical texts of the same epoch. All the Eastern liturgies have the same general plan. The Canon is a development of the Trinitarian doxology. In the Preface we address the Father, the Sanctus concludes with the Words of Institution, which, with the Anamnesis introduces the redemptive acts of the Son, and the Holy Ghost is invoked in the Epiklesis. It is only after Pentecost that the disciples begin to break the Eucharistic bread. The virtue and help of the Paraclete is manifested in the daily life of the early Christians. It is a constant charismatic breathing and a permanent confession of the Holy Trinity.

A number of patristic citations are made from St Cyril of Jerusalem (to whose testimony we are not to attach a preponderant importance at this stage), St Basil, St Gregory of Nyssa, St Chrysostom, St Gregory Nazianzen. P. Sertillanges is quoted for his definition of Latin Scholasticism. The Scholastics apply Aristotelian categories to sacramental problems, and speak of *ex opere operato*, substance, accident, *quomodo, quando*, and henceforward the Words of institution are considered as being pronounced by the priest *in persona Christi*. St Augustine's *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum* becomes a general principle of Latin theology, and the Words of the Lord are conceived as a consecratory formula. In the East the Epiklesis was never understood as such a consecratory formula : it is an asking, a prayer made *in persona ecclesiae* for the Holy Spirit to consecrate, and the



Words of the Lord are a historic narrative which precedes. The prayer of the Epiklesis is paralleled by the other sacramental rites.

Seeking for a conciliation between the two theologies, Fr Kern proceeds. The argument against the Epiklesis put forward by some Latins on the ground of there being no evidence for it before a certain date is unsound. Can we believe that it suddenly appeared from nowhere and was accepted without a murmur? P. Salaville<sup>1</sup> is nearer the truth when he says that 'before becoming a theological problem, the Epiklesis was already a universal fact'. The Epiklesis goes back right into the charismatic age of the early Church, while the Words of Institution seem to vary in different early liturgies, as indeed they do in the New Testament. If the Apostles when saying these Words did so 'in memory' of the Lord, there was still a certain symbolism there (not in the Protestant, but in the traditional sense): the celebrant was a symbol of Christ, even when the Eucharistic elements were not symbols but the reality. He pronounced the Words *in persona Christi*, but did not identify his liturgical power with that of Christ—the grace of God, of the Paraclete was necessary, for the human priest was not in *quite* the same position as Christ when he worked his miracles, and the Words of the Lord are not in any sense a magical formula. Latin historians do not neglect the necessity for the divine intervention here. But why is it that the East invokes the Holy Ghost, and not the entire Trinity? Is it due to an oriental habit of exaggerating the hypostatic distinctions? At any rate, that is not the point at issue. Catholics and Orthodox agree that the Eucharistic elements cannot be changed except by divine intervention which is the *minister principalis*. A Roman liturgist says that 'as to the tradition of the first seven centuries the consecratory efficacy, both in East and West, of the Words of Christ, is certainly reconciled with the transubstantiative power of the Holy Ghost'. The Epiklesis is 'the *bow* of this consecration, showing that it is not the work of men but of the Holy Ghost'. And again: 'The Epiklesis, far from dividing, unites us'.

Before the fourteenth century there was no Greco-Latin controversy on this score. Pope Benedict XII († 1342) was the first to speak against the Epiklesis, and it was only Eugenius IV († 1417) in his Decree for the Armenians who defined the Words of the Lord as the 'form of the Sacrament'. If, on the one hand, the most classical Latin theologians took this

<sup>1</sup> *Epiclèse eucharistique* DTC, Tome V, col. 239.

not so much as an article of faith, but as something proximate to the faith, on the other hand history proves that liturgical diversities did not prove an unsurmountable obstacle in the Middle Ages to communion between the two Churches, and neither Photius nor Michael Caerularius considered it so.

Nothing hinders us from looking for an eirenic solution. But the doctrine of the sanctifying formula, of the precise moment, and above all the *minister sacramenti* remains a stumbling-block for the oriental conscience. The Words of the Lord for us do not have their full signification till after the invocation of the Holy Ghost. Before, they are for us just historic words and the species are but *antitypes* of the Body and Blood. The interpretation of this term by St John Damascene, as well as the explanations of Nicholas Cabasilas and Mark of Ephesus will always have for the Oriental Church their incontestable worth.

(Summarized by R.G.R.)

[In order to go deeper into the question raised in *Irenikon* we would first refer our readers to an article by Dom Romanus Rios, 'The Words of Consecration in the Tradition of the Eastern Churches', in the *E.C.Q.* of July 1940.

Here, however, we will simply lay beside the paper of Father Kern some notes of the late Mr H. W. Codrington, which we have found in our files, these will certainly throw some light on this important subject.—THE EDITOR.]

### THE EPIKLESIS

BY H. W. CODRINGTON

By Epiklesis I mean the invocation of the Holy Ghost to effect Transubstantiation. In very ancient times epiklesis is used very vaguely, e.g. invocation of God, invocation of the name of God. In one Western case actually applied to the Words of Institution, *Note Justin, Dial. 85*, where the invocation in exorcism is remarkably like the contents of the anaphora rehearsing the life, death, resurrection, etc., of our Lord. For the word see Connolly in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1924, pp. 337 ff.

I. The Theory that the Holy Ghost consecrates, i.e. effects Transubstantiation common to East and West. So St Bede and ninth century commentators.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is certain that the Roman Canon then had no Epiklesis (nor indeed, I think, did it ever have such) and no one doubted that our Lord's words operated. Even where as in the Gallican liturgies there was

<sup>1</sup> Now obscured in West. But the Holy Ghost operates all the sacraments.

an Epiklesis (often however very vague and very often not a genuine epiklesis as defined above), we find the commentary attributed to St Germanus of Paris definitely fixing the consecration at the Words of Institution. Thus as to the operation of the Holy Ghost there were not two beliefs. What was different was the belief as to the moment. Yet in the eleventh century the liturgy of St Peter was used by the Byzantines (?) on Athos (the patriarch is commemorated) apparently without any difficulty though there is no Epiklesis in the Canon.

II. The subject is best dealt with first of all historically, not dogmatically.

(1) The Epiklesis does not appear in all liturgies, even Eastern. Thus the *Testamentum Domini* has none. Serapion has a definite invocation of the Word, not the Holy Ghost, for Transubstantiation. In the Egyptian rite there are indications that a prayer analogous to the Roman *Supplices* was in the place now occupied in the St Mark by the Epiklesis (most clearly borrowed or based on that of St James).

There are some indications that the final prayer, whether Epiklesis or not (represented by *Supplices*) was an addition to the original Eucharistic prayer, which was based on the Jewish Qiddush, a blessing in the form of thanksgiving.

(2) In the third century we have two documents, the *Didascalia* and Hippolytus (the so-called Egyptian Church Order).

*Didascalia* (Syrian origin). Connolly's edition, pp. 242 ff. 'oratio per sanctum spiritum suscipitur, et gratiarum actio (Eucharist) per sanctum spiritum sanctificatur et libri, cum sancti spiritus sonus sint, sancti sunt . . . (refers to Gospel "quid est maius, munus aut altare quod sanctificat munus?") . . . et audies similiter a Domino Deo Christo "Stulta et caeca, quid est maius, panis aut sanctus spiritus qui sanctificat panem?"'

The Syriac as often translates one Greek word by two Syriac. It has: 'prayer also is heard through the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit is accepted and sanctified, and the Scriptures are the words of the Holy Spirit and are holy'. The passage at the end is defective.

P. 252. 'panem mundum praeponentes qui per ignem factus est et per invocationem sanctificatur (Syriac, with invocations)'.

So far it seems as if the Epiklesis existed in Syria in the third century, but it does not follow from the wording that

there was a special prayer. Probably there was as Hippolytus has one. Nevertheless note there is nothing re Transubstantiation.

*Hippolytus*. The prayer in this is extremely vague and is not a true Epiklesis. It does not pray for Transubstantiation but that the Holy Ghost may be sent upon the oblation that those who partake of it may be filled with the Holy Ghost. Query. Is the Epiklesis in its origin connected with the 'communion of the Holy Ghost'? Note that Serapion on the contrary invokes the Word, and this to effect Transubstantiation (viz. the presence of Christ to make the bread His body, etc.).

The extension of the rudimentary Epiklesis in Hippolytus to a prayer for Transubstantiation was easy. The intermediate stage, I think, is connected with the idea of ἐνέργεια so repeatedly found in the prayers for blessing in Serapion. The idea can hardly have been widespread for the early writers on the Holy Ghost, though dilating on His action in baptism, are silent as to the Eucharist, though had the theory He consecrated been common it was most appropriate to their discussion. Edmund Bishop thought that before the controversy in the fourteenth century the Holy Ghost was thought of as hallowing persons or souls, not things. St Basil, *De Spiritu sancto* xxvi (66) speaks of the 'words of the invocation', but seems to include words before and after the words of our Lord.

When the theory of consecration by the Holy Ghost was accepted, the idea seems to have been that the words of our Lord were similar to the creation in the beginning. As the word of God then created and continues the work throughout time, so the words of our Lord have their effect at every Mass. The Epiklesis thus in practice fixed their effect to the particular oblation. This, I think, explains Chrysostom. It is found as late as the thirteenth century in the Nestorian Audisho of Soba. But in the time of Chrysostom the words of our Lord were not, as now stated by the Orthodox, purely historical. At least this is not the Antiochene tradition preserved by Severus (sixth century). In his letter to Ammian and Epagathus (Text and Translation Society, *Select Letters of Severus*, p. 234) he writes, 'It is not the man who offers the sacrifice, but Christ completes it through the words uttered by the offerer, and changes the bread . . . by the power, inspiration, and grace of his Spirit'; in letter to the deacon Misael (p. 238) 'It is not the offerer himself

who as by his own power and virtue changes the bread . . . but the God-befitting and efficacious power of the words which Christ who instituted the mystery commanded to be pronounced over the things that are offered. The priest . . . pronouncing his words as in the person of Christ and carrying back the rite that is being performed to the time at which He began the sacrifice for His apostles, says over the bread, "This is the Body" . . . Accordingly it is Christ who still even now offers and the power of his divine words perfects the things that are provided so that they may become his Body and Blood' and in letter to Caesarea the patrician (p. 245) 'For it is Christ himself and his mysterious words which are pronounced over the bread and the cup of blessing that complete the rational and bloodless sacrifice, not the priest who stands before the altar'.

In this connexion it is to be noted that the Syrian Jacobites who attribute the consecration to the Epiklesis in spite of the doctrine of Severus go through the actions of our Lord while reciting the Institution, bells are rung, etc. The Copts also go through the actions. Note that in the Greek St Mark the (concelebrating) presbyters are bidden to 'stretch forth' (their hands) at the words of Institution, an action exactly parallel to that of the bishops at the Coptic Consecration of the patriarch during the consecration prayer. It is clear that the present idea that the words of our Lord are merely historical is comparatively modern.

To revert to Hippolytus. Connolly holds that this is a Roman document. Yet in the time of St Damasus it is certain that the present Canon, or rather an older form of it (cf. *Sacramentis*), was in use, for mention is made of Melchisedech. In the third century the formulae were in a fluid state. The liturgy writing age in the East was the fourth to fifth century, but in the West the fluid state long continued, and as it was comparatively untouched by the love of theological speculation so marked in the East, we find a certain number of archaistic formulae surviving quite late. The Mozarabic prayers corresponding in place to the Eastern Epiklesis often are vague; the mention of the Holy Ghost is comparatively rare and, of the three prayers addressed to him, two are on Pentecost. In the Roman rite he is invoked at the blessing of chrism and of the baptismal water, appropriate for the Spirit which brooded on the face of the waters. It is possible that when the liturgy was fluid as in the third century the prayer found in the Mass of Hippolytus was

due to the fact that it is in a Mass for the consecration of a bishop and so appropriate, and that other formulae were used on other occasions. The fixing in use of the precursor of our present prayer may be due to the abandonment of Greek as the (or, a) liturgical language in Rome. The form in *De Sacramentis* almost certainly, I think, is a translation from Greek.

(3) Was there any real difference between (i) the Epiklesis, and (ii) the Roman prayer that the angel or angels should carry the oblation to the heavenly altar?

The Roman prayer is *prima facie* one for the acceptance of the sacrifice. But I think that it is more than this. A passage in the ninth century commentaries attributed to St Gregory the Great runs thus 'Uno eodemque tempore ac momento et in caelo rapitur ministerio angelorum *consociandum corpori Christi* et ante oculos sacerdotis in altari videtur'.

I suggest two keys :—

(i) Acceptance= blessing. See *Didascalia*, Syriac translation of 'sancti ficatur' by 'accepted and sanctified'.

St Augustine, Ep xxiv. 'Hunc panem eulogiam esse tu facies dignatione sumendi.'

Ep. xxv. 'Panem unum quem unanimatis indicio misimus caritati tuae rogamus accipiendo benedicas.'

Ep. xxxi. 'Panis quem misimus uberior benedictio fiet dilectione accipientis vestrae benignitatis.'

(ii) The altar sanctifies the gift (Matt. xxiii). Cf. *Didascalia*, where the Holy Ghost sanctifying the bread is compared to the altar and the gift. *Canons of Athanasius* (Text and Translation Society) p. 16, 'For the altar that is set up in heaven before the Lord is the Holy Ghost, reasonable and speaking and knowing who it is striveth for him upon earth.'

Cf. Innocent III (Patr. Lat. 217, 841). 'Et Pater dedit, Filius obtulit, Spiritus sanctus accepit. Hinc ergo dicit apostolus; Christus per sanctum Spiritum semetipsum obtulit Deo immaculatum.'

I do not wish to press the identity of the heavenly altar with the Holy Ghost. But the idea of the altar sanctifying the oblation brought to it is only another way of saying what the Easterns do when they pray God to send the Spirit down. The Roman form which is far from being explicit is very archaic. Indeed, the Canon if read through with no theological preoccupation has no time note at all if we expect the 'Quam oblationem'. Its



older form even here had 'quae est' or 'quod est' for 'ut fiat'. In the third century the time note is absent everywhere. In the liturgies as later developed there is much variation of ideas in the prayer which I believe was a very early addition to the primitive Eucharistia, e.g. (1) Holy Ghost to consecrate (originally with no specific mention of this, vide Hippolytus); (2) Word to effect Transubstantiation (Serapion); (3) Prayer for communicants only (Testamentum); (4) Angel carries the oblation to the heavenly altar; (5) The vague Mozarabic formulae, usually for the blessing of the oblation. This variation indicates that at an early period there was no one general idea; it is a vague prayer for blessing.

Its place after the Recital of the Institution is due to its being an addition to the original Thanksgiving (Qiddush).

III. The question now at issue between Catholics and Orthodox arose comparatively late. Due to desire to fix the moment of Transubstantiation. I believe that now the Orthodox go so far as to doubt the validity of the Roman Mass. But it is the same as in St Gregory's day, and they can hardly say his Mass was invalid. Indeed as already stated, they used the Canon in the liturgy of St Peter in the eleventh century. The question really comes to this. In the *Eastern* liturgies is the consecration complete at the Words of our Lord or after the Epiklesis?

Is the solution to be found in the position of St John Chrysostom and of Severus? Namely, that both sides admit that the words of our Lord effect Transubstantiation, i.e. that the words at the Last Supper are 'creative', but that something more is required, namely, the intention of the Church. This intention is manifested in the East by the Epiklesis, in the West (and by St Basil) by the Canon or its essential parts. The private intention of the priest seems to me to be immaterial. I presume that all that is required is that he intends to do what the Church does and he does that if he uses the Church's form. Whether he is an unbeliever does not matter. It seems to me more or less on all fours with Ordination. I put this forward subject to correction as I profess no theology. The difficulty is that the modern Orthodox have gone so far as to say that the Words of our Lord are purely historical, see the *Liturgikon* published at Venice.

P.S. I do not think that any valid argument can be drawn from the use of ἀναθέσθαι. I think that the fact has to be faced that the Epiklesis does ask for consecration.

## THE ORTHODOX MISSION

**I**T was in 1945 that this problem was considered in a general way under the heading of 'Tendencies in the Orthodox Church'.<sup>1</sup> Since then much has happened, and I think it is time this whole problem was given more consideration.

The elements in the present situation seem to be these: The Russian Church under the patriarch of Moscow both inside and outside the U.S.S.R. and the Churches under the influence of Moscow. The Church of the Russian Synod Abroad under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Anastassy and the Orthodox among the D.Ps, and the other Orthodox Churches. The position of the Catholic Church to this problem. Many articles would be demanded for a close and detailed study of this subject. What follows can only be a review of the position, an attempt to get one's bearings concerning the present day Holy Orthodox Church.

It is certain that many Orthodox are becoming alive to a sense of their mission, to the world at large, and in some cases of their mission to other Christians, and this as an outcome of their belief that their's is the true Church. For many it is still, as of yore, only a latent truth which has no practical bearing on their lives. There are, however, other reasons why this sense of their mission is uppermost in the Orthodox Church to-day. Here is an outline of the position.

In the case of the patriarch of Moscow a powerful driving force must be his co-operation with the policy of the Soviet state, though it would be quite wrong to exclude all spiritual motives from the policy he follows. The patriarch Alexis is again in the position of a patriarch in the late imperial days, he is head of all the Russian Orthodox in the widely flung U.S.S.R. empire, and it is to him as their leader that all the Orthodox Churches within the orbit of Soviet influence look. Yet, though he is, as of old, an officer of the state, the Orthodox Church is not now the religion of the state (which may lead to its ultimate triumph), its real adherents are only a minority, how large a minority who knows? Yet the fiction remains, he is the patriarch of *all the Russias*, and the prestige of this title may not be an empty phrase, for the U.S.S.R., as long as

<sup>1</sup> See *E.C.Q.* Jan. 1945, p. 40; *E.C.Q.* April-June 1946. This article is indebted to: *The Bulletin* of Dr S. Bolshakoff, 1950-51, *Pantainos* 1950-51, *The Œcumenical Review* Jan. and April, nos. 1951, *The Salvation of the Nations*, J. Daniélou, s.j., *Summing-up on Russia*, Stephen Graham, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* July-Sept. 1951.



he remains subservient, will back any claim he can or will make to the status of an œcumenical patriarch.

There are however other Orthodox jurisdictions and other policies. To speak still of Russians, there is the Church of the Russian Synod Abroad under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Anastassy. This is definitely in opposition to the U.S.S.R. Whether Anastassy would follow in Alexis's policy if the Russian empire were again ruled by a Christian tsar would be an interesting question! This group is very numerous in Germany and Austria, all the Russian D.Ps in Australia, New Zealand and South America (except in the Argentine where there are other Russian groups too) are under this jurisdiction. They are also in other parts of Europe and in the U.S.A. where their centre has now been transferred from Munich.

In December 1950 the Sobor of the Russian-American Church elected Leontius Turkevich as its new metropolitan. This Church has declared itself autocephalous, and now no longer mentions the name of the patriarch of Moscow in the liturgy. It has about 120 parishes in the U.S.A. and some in Canada, it also has missions in Japan, Korea, Alaska and in the Argentine.

The Russian Orthodox missions in Manchuria and China and also now the Russian Holy Places in Palestine, and the only missionary work among the Moslems and the Buddhists in the U.S.S.R. are all under the jurisdiction of Moscow.

There is another group of Russians, those who have placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople: they are under Metropolitan Vladimir in Paris.

This naturally leads to a consideration of the present position of the œcumenical patriarch. In Turkey his position is limited to his synod and four diocesan bishops. In 1922 all Greeks living in a country without any regular Orthodox hierarchy came under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople (except in Africa where they came under the Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria). Hence Archbishop Athenagoras in London is exarch for Orthodox Greeks in Western and Central Europe, and there is a Greek metropolitan for the two Americas and Australia. But apart from these Greeks, Constantinople claims jurisdiction over any Orthodox diaspora. There are also certain Orthodox Churches who have placed themselves under the œcumenical patriarch, e.g. the Churches of Finland, Poland and the Ukrainians in the U.S.A.

Here we hit on a point that is disputed by the patriarch of Moscow, together with the œcumenical patriarch's claim to have the sole right to convene a pan-Orthodox synod.

Père Musset tells us in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* that in 1935 the Rumanian patriarch proposed the establishment at Constantinople of a permanent synod under the presidency of the patriarch and comprising delegates from all the Orthodox Churches to regulate matters of common interest. Also that it was advocated in *L'Union de Clergé bulgare* (in 1946) that the œcumenical patriarch should be chosen from any nationality and that his see should be moved to Moscow!

The present Orthodox patriarch of Antioch seems to be looking towards Moscow, he took an active part in the celebrations in Moscow in 1948, and a Russian patriarchal delegation came to Damascus in 1950. This does not mean that he has any attraction to the Communist ideology. Russia, in the old days, took the part of the Arab Orthodox.

On the other hand Alexandria and the Church of Greece stand by Constantinople. One must not forget the Russian D.Ps and the émigré clergy and laity of those churches in the satellite states who are free and who are against Communism. In the U.S.S.R. itself there is a body of non-registered priests who do most of the ministering to the people.<sup>1</sup>

One may bring this description to a finish by stating that there is a reunion movement on foot between the Orthodox and the lesser Eastern Churches, and also a movement for closer relations between these Monophysite churches themselves.

Such, then, drawn in very sketchy outline, is the picture the Orthodox Eastern Church presents to-day. To the Westerner, especially to the average Catholic, it may look only like a picture of confusion and faction, but the Orthodox are used to live in the atmosphere of anarchical church life, they have faith that divine grace overcomes anarchy. It was the Turkish empire that made the post-schism patriarchs of Constantinople, it was and is imperial Russia that made and has restored the patriarch of Moscow, but whereas the Ottoman empire did not advance Orthodox missions, that of Russia did and still does, either directly, in making the Church an instrument in its political expansion, or indirectly by driving into the West and elsewhere vast bodies of D.Ps. Both in Manchuria and Japan the jurisdiction of these respective churches have changed, due to the political changes in their

<sup>1</sup> See *The Bulletin*, S.B., September-October 1951, p. 7.

countries, but the missions go on, the sacramental life permeates the Christian people, the appeal of Orthodoxy is the same, the framework of organization is considered of minor importance, it is the life-giving doctrine that matters.

In Greece, and among the Arab Orthodox the youth are forming themselves into groups of 'Orthodox Action'.

In Germany many books are coming out about Orthodoxy both by Lutherans and the Orthodox. Protestants and Catholics are showing great interest. There is an effort now on the part of the Orthodox in the U.S.A. to consolidate themselves and to accept the fact that they are American. They will form a challenge to Catholics, especially those of the Oriental rites.

All this, together with the native Orthodox Churches in China, Japan, Alaska, is the direct Orthodox mission; the Orthodox who take part in the World Council of Churches are acting, as they say, as witnesses of their faith and their Church, and this is no small task at the level of Christian leadership and among people who (at first at any rate) had no idea of Orthodoxy.

We have Père Daniélou's comment on the Orthodox mission—'It must be added that the Orthodox religion has in its favour an extraordinary liturgical power, with a great fascination for souls of to-day. It possesses a certain tradition of prayer which we in our Roman tradition have in great part lost. To think that we are coming to twenty-minute Masses in some churches! That is a serious matter, because in such Masses the climate of prayer is not created. In such short ceremonies we do not get the impression created by those endless Russian ceremonies in which a liturgical element is created that is both captivating and powerful, especially to the Asiatic mind. Therefore we must realize that in the Orthodox religion we shall be confronted by a powerful movement.'

Now, as to the Catholic Church confronted with all this: first, we must recognize it, and try to understand it with sympathy, there is the danger of meeting it only on the controversial level, we must meet it on the deepest levels; prayer, patristic thought and liturgical life. Here we can exchange ideas and share in study. And it should be the work of Catholic scholars of all rites. Pope Pius XI told certain Latin priests to adopt the Byzantine rite in order to understand the spirit of the Greek Fathers and also that of Orthodox thought. This is the vocation of the few.

We can well learn much from the Orthodox mission how better to approach the Asiatic. And they can learn something

of our tradition of the international independence of the Church.

There are signs that an eirenic spirit is growing up among the Orthodox and the Catholic clergy of the Oriental rites (e.g. among the Melkites in the Middle East)—thus will the work and spirit of Fr Jurij Krishanich<sup>1</sup> and the Metropolitan Andrew Szepticky<sup>2</sup> be able to produce its fruit.

We must constantly pray—'for the peace of the whole world, for the good estate of all the holy Churches of God and for the union of all men'.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

DEAR FATHER,

Père R. P. Bonduelle, O.P. of Studium Catholicum Fenniae has drawn my attention to inaccuracies in my notes for *E.C.Q.* 8, Vol. VIII, 1950, p. 502—penned before the institute opened.

Contrary to statements in the Finnish press, Studium Catholicum exists to further closer relationship with Finland in particular—not Scandinavia in general, for which there are already special local centres. 'Promoting French literature...' etc. has nothing to do with its aims. The librarians happen to be French, but they are representatives of Catholicism, and their library (5,000 volumes) is polyglot.

On the Feast of SS. Laurence and Sixtus, 10-8-51, the new, larger and more permanent Byzantine-Catholic chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, at Koskelantie Rekola, was blessed by Monsignor Cobben, the Vicar Apostolic. A considerable cosmopolitan and pan-Scandinavian congregation (mostly Latins) attended the numinous liturgy and agapetic luncheon afterwards.

During the past year perceptible advance has been made in restoring and enlarging Orthodox places of worship and building one or two new churches and oratories (i.e. *č'asóvnya* Russian=*tsasouna* Finnish). This is very laudable, considering the perennial, chronic housing and building shortage in Finland.

VASSILY JAMES.

Helsingfors, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> Fr Krishanich, 1618-85, a Catholic Croatia scholar and priest of the Byzantine Rite who laboured for reunion. He held that it was only ignorance that prevented reunion between Rome and Russia. Vid *E.C.Q.* July-October 1941, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> The great Ukrainian Metropolitan. Vid *E.C.Q.* July-Sept. 1944, p. 342.

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

### THE CHURCH UNITY OCTAVE, 18—15TH JANUARY

We are afraid that this issue may not be out until after the actual octave, but prayer for Christian Unity must be continual. Some of the following items and one of the reviews have a definite bearing on this prayer.

The general theme of the issue too is concerned with the problem at large.

### EGYPT

We offer our prayers and sincere congratulations to his Beatitude Morcos II on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop.

The following is a free translation of a very significant comment on this event, taken from *Le Rayon D'Egypte* (2nd Dec. 1951) entitled 'This Little Church':—

'To-day this church rejoices on account of the jubilee of her head. Her history for the past twenty-five years is bound up with his. Mgr Mark Khouzam, before becoming his Beatitude Morcos II, presided, with the title of apostolic administrator, over the destinies of the small Catholic Coptic community. Thanks to his prudent administration, his evangelical gentleness and patience, and his unshakeable confidence in divine Providence, dangers were avoided, difficulties overcome, and the growth of the tiny mustard-seed was assured. To-day the tender shoot has taken on new vigour. It has been organized. The former administrator has been elevated to the dignity of patriarch. Four suffragan bishops assist him and form with him the backbone of the new Church which holds jurisdiction over all the country from Alexandria to Assouan.

This Church is the hope of to-morrow for the Christian Egypt which fights so courageously in defence of its ancestral patrimony. But alongside of this new shoot which brings with it a renewal of the strong, healthy sap of which the Apostolic See alone is the source, the old trunk of the Orthodox-Coptic Church is far from moribund, and displays, in face of the dangers threatening the faith, a renewal of vitality. There you have the numbers, there you have the masses, the compact masses of ordinary people, who guarantee stability to any kind of progress. The salvation of the Christians here will be in the meeting together of these two Churches, the new and the

old, the one bringing its impressive crowds, the other its conquering dynamism. Christians will only safeguard their faith in this country through their union. Everything points to this, in the times in which we are living. The existence of a Catholic-Coptic Church with its essential framework and its hierarchy is more than an invitation, it is a pledge and an expectation !'

*The Tablet* of 22nd December 1951, has an article on the Catholic married clergy. The occasion was the ordination by the bishop of Mainz of the former Lutheran pastor, Herr Goethe. The pastor and his wife had become Catholics some years ago. *The Tablet* says, 'We understand that the Holy See is prepared to give bishops the faculty to allow or to perform the ordination of converted Protestant married clergy, who continue to live as man and wife, on condition that this is not merely a benefit to the man concerned, but rather a benefit to the Church, and that the wife, as well as the priest-to-be, undergoes a special training. It is not made a condition that the wife should become a nun ; the idea is simply that of a married priest, as the Uniate Church knows it. We understand, further, that the candidate for the priesthood in this case need not do his training in a seminary, but may do it in some other more suitable place ; and that such married priests are not envisaged as working as ordinary parochial clergy, but as chaplains or teachers in suitable institutions.'

*Orate Fratres*. This splendid liturgical review issued from St John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, attained its twenty-fifth year at the end of 1951. We congratulate the editor and staff. The issue for October-November 1951 was a special anniversary number.

From the December issue and henceforth the latin title '*Orate Fratres*' will be changed to *Worship*. We wish *Worship* an ever increasing circulation and usefulness among English-speaking Catholics.

On account of space we will have to hold over till next time the reviews of the following books that were intended to appear in this number :—

*The Church in the Purpose of God*, by Oliver Tomkins.

*A Church Renascent* by David Watmough.

*The Malabar Church and other Orthodox Churches* by Father J. Daniel.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Father Paul of Graymoor* by Rev. David Gannon, S.A. Pp. 372 (Macmillan, New York) \$4.

This is a fascinating book, simply as a piece of biography, but when the subject is that of an Anglican clergyman who dreamed his own dreams true as regards corporate reunion with the Holy See it becomes a book of importance. From the outset however we must make it clear that this is not a theological thesis, it is a book dealing with the trying-out and modifying of the ideals of one whose life was spent in working for reunion.

We are aware that we have raised a controversial question, the term *corporate reunion* used in connexion with any Christian body other than the Eastern Churches always raises a protest on the part of the average Catholic. This is quite natural, for the term so used needs explanation and we are impatient of explanations. These Christian groups do not represent a body, and therefore one should not use the word corporate; there was no previous unity with the Holy See, and therefore there can be no reunion with the Holy See. This line of thought must be specially true in the U.S.A. where the Anglicans have no continuity of buildings. Yet, for all its controversy, there is still a real problem, the problem of the possibility of Christian groups coming into unity *as groups* with the Holy See. Fr Paul saw this and was fearless and outspoken with his plans to meet the situation.

Now to consider the book. It must be emphasized that the author, Fr Gannon, does not make this problem the theme of his book, the problem comes in the setting of the many-sided interests and activities of Fr Paul's life. Fr Paul Wattson's life as given us by the author is one full of events. At the age of twenty-two he enters the Anglican ministry, as his father had before him, he spends eight years in charge of a parish, but he feels urged to found a body of preaching friars in the Episcopal Church, his ideal was a combination of St Francis of Assisi and the Paulists, this body he calls the Society of the Atonement. He is joined by Mother Lurana, and so the Sisters of the Atonement were also started. They acquired Graymoor, which became the Mount of the Atonement in a truly wonderful way. In 1900 Fr Paul came to consider that the vocation of his Society was to repair the sixteenth century breach of the Church of England with Rome. Then his demand as a preacher, which had been very considerable,

was brought to an end. The result was the publishing of *The Lamp* in 1903 : the friar preaches with his pen.

In 1908 there appeared in *The Lamp* the announcement of the Church Unity Octave. From the first Catholic authorities also co-operated in the observance of the Octave. On the morning of 30th October 1909, the little group of the Society of the Atonement was corporately reconciled with the Holy See. The work begun as Anglicans was carried on and increased when the Society had established itself in the Church of Rome. The Octave of Prayer, *The Lamp*, and the great missionary work linked with the name of *the Union that nothing be lost*, also started when Fr Paul was an Anglican, took on new life and vigour. The Friars and Sisters of the Atonement are now spread out, not only in the U.S.A. and Canada, but also in Rome, Assisi and Japan. But, to return, why do we call this a book of importance? Because Fr Paul's life as an Anglican shows him grappling with the problem of corporate reunion, and because later within the Church of Rome he is integrating the same problem of Christian Unity within the life and work of his Society.

Our author shows how Fr Paul, as an Anglican, after he was convinced of the Roman position, worked for corporate reunion with the Holy See as the only real solution of the problem of Christian Unity. He also says that 'when Fr Paul spoke and wrote of *Corporate Reunion* after he had entered the Catholic Church, it was *corporate reunion* with qualification that he meant. For then he knew that faith is an individual intellectual act.' The qualification, in Fr Paul's own words, writing five years after his own submission to Rome, are : 'We do not expect a corporate submission of *all* Anglicans to the Apostolic See, in either this or any subsequent generation, but we do anticipate the home-coming of the Catholic remnant. How extensive the members will prove to be God alone knows !' (p. 117). We are inclined to think that Fr Gannon has narrowed down Fr Paul's 'corporate principle', as he calls it. Of course there is a *difference* of possibility due to whether you do or do not hold Anglican Orders to be valid, but the *method* of approach based on the 'corporate principle' may remain the same, and that it did so for Fr Paul is of great importance.

We will now turn to the Church Unity Octave. This in its origin and as Fr Paul understood it was an explicit prayer that all Christians might be brought into union with the Holy See, no matter how far and difficult that goal might seem to be to

human understanding. It was Fr Paul who first conceived the Octave prayer, though the Rev. Spencer Jones had suggested keeping St Peter's feast as a day of prayer for the same ends, and he whole-heartedly joined in the Octave prayer when it had been established. In 1934 the Abbé Couturier planned that the 'Universal Week of Prayer for Christian Unity' should take place during the same time as the Octave. This had the effect of enlarging or (as our author says) 'watering-down' the Octave, since those taking part in this 'week of prayer' are only required to pray for Christian Unity as 'best pleasing to Christ', and so all Christians can join in these prayers in their respective places of worship. Here we would like Fr Gannon to have given us a more detailed account of Fr Paul's reaction to this movement. Did he know the works of Père Congar and the work of the monks of Amay? He gives us instead some warning passages from *Humani Generis* and from the decree of the Holy Office of 20th December 1949. It may be that Fr Paul did not see the full significance of the Abbé Couturier's work, for after all he died before the publication of recent Roman legislation on the Œcumenical Movement and even before the Pope's encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi*. Much has happened since 1940.

There is yet the work of integration, which has been mentioned, to be considered. This emerged out of Fr Paul's missionary work, the funds of the *Union that nothing be lost* were distributed in the Near and Middle East as well as in the vast districts of Asia and Africa. Here was the completing of the aim of the Society—that of bringing about *At-one-ment*, and I think it was here that Fr Paul saw the integration of all the work for Christian Unity! There was the obvious work for Catholics of the Eastern rites and the separated Eastern Churches (Fr Paul was one of the founders of the *Catholic Near East Welfare Association*), but there was also the problem of the relation of the reunion movement to missionary work in the Far East and Africa. Fr Paul saw the place of Church Unity work in its proper relation to the whole.

Fr Paul had the intuition (inspiration) of the prophet, he may not always have been able to express his vision in its fullness.

Now, his Society of the Atonement do not only edit *The Lamp*, but they also publish the English edition of *Unitas*, the Roman review dealing with œcumenical matters; may the children carry on the work of their Father and fulfil his vision.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*Medieval Papalism, The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists*, by Walter Ullmann. Pp. xiv, 230 (Methuen) 18s.

Dr Ullmann attempted in his Maitland lectures in 1948 to make a contribution to the placing of the medieval canonists in 'the position that is due to them' in the history of political thought (p. viii), and he has rendered a valuable service in drawing attention to the degree in which they have been neglected in this field, as in others. He has attempted rather to understand than to judge the canonical doctrines of which he writes (pp. 197-8), which is certainly the manner in which the subject must be approached if it is to be fruitfully studied. The book in which these lectures are reprinted in expanded form must therefore be welcomed not only for some interesting findings resulting from Dr Ullmann's researches into matters of detail but also for its larger good intentions. The fulfilment of the latter is another matter.

The lectures bear all the marks of hasty composition and hasty publication, and in view of the vastness of the material treated and its complexity this has proved fatal to Dr Ullmann's attempt to arrive at an adequate understanding of the medieval canonical doctrines, which are not essentially different from those of the present day. Since, therefore, we find it impossible to give an unqualified welcome to the book, we can employ our space best by indicating a few of the instances in which we have found Dr Ullmann's treatment in one way or another unsatisfactory.

Even in his introductory account of the undue neglect of medieval canonists we did not know what to make of the statement that 'with the breakdown of the medieval world the canonists and their doctrines were consigned to an oblivion that is at once unfathomable and undeserved' (p. vii), and later, 'whilst modern theology and philosophy in some respects shows a certain kinship to its medieval predecessor, the canonists left no heirs' (p. 2). This might be true of Oxford and Cambridge, but what can it mean as a general statement?

To give an example of Dr Ullmann's treatment of more important matters we may turn to the chapters dealing with the basic notion of natural law. There we find such statements as this: 'This agreement between natural and divine law was explained by the Stoic and pantheistic idea that nature is God' (p. 40), and: 'It was a species of Christian pantheism which permeated the canonistic conception of the divine (natural) law' (p. 46). The first of these statements is supported by quotations which explain that God is the 'summa natura' and that natural law

comes from him, e.g. 'dicitur hoc jus naturale, quoniam summa natura, id est, Deus nobis illud tradidit', and that 'ad ea, quae jure divino continentur, naturalis ratio . . . ducit et impellit!'

How far Dr Ullmann is from understanding the authors of whom he writes may be judged from his statement that the 'ultimate aim of all canonistic doctrine' was 'the aim of proving the superiority of the pope over the emperor' (p. 45).

In the chapter from which these extracts are taken Dr Ullmann's exposition seems to us highly confused, but at least he makes it clear that the term 'natural law' was used in many different senses. The leitmotiv of the following chapter is that 'as soon as the immutability of the natural law was put to the test, it became no more than a pious assertion—a device that declared something sacrosanct so long as it was convenient to do so: expediency and other utilitarian considerations played an important part in bringing about a relationship between natural law and the pope in which the immutability of natural law was but a hollow name' (p. 50). Even the texts quoted by Dr Ullmann to establish this thesis disprove it, as for instance when the power of the pope to dispense from the ten commandments is denied (p. 53). Indeed Dr Ullmann's 'utilitarian considerations', the appeal to 'necessitas vel utilitas' (p. 54) as a basis for such dispensing power as was claimed for the pope, was itself an appeal to the natural law rightly understood.

Dr Gaines Post (in *Speculum*, Jan. 1951) has already drawn attention to the fact that some quotations are given out of their context to the detriment of an understanding of the real scope of their rather bombastic language. Thus a canonist is quoted as saying that the pope 'de nihilo facit aliquid ut Deus' (p. 52) where the omitted context shows the meaning and limits of this to some degree: 'in hoc gerit vicem Dei quia plenitudinem potestatis habet in rebus ecclesiasticis'. Another part of the same passage: 'in hoc gerit papa vicem Dei, quia sedet in loco Iesu Christi, qui est verus Deus et verus homo', might have prevented Dr Ullmann from following the example of some other scholars in writing such nonsense as this: 'the pope was made out to be not only the successor of St Peter and the vicar of Christ—as Innocent III at one time modestly stated—but also the vicar of God' (pp. 54-5) and 'the pope was not a mere vicar of Christ . . . but a true vicar of God'—this time quoting Innocent III for this less modest doctrine! (pp. 78-9; and cf. p. 8, n.)



It would be a long business to discuss all the odd remarks of Dr Ullmann in this chapter alone; he shows no understanding of the perfectly rational grounds for the distinction made by Catholic doctrine between consummated and non-consummated marriages with regard to the question of the indissolubility of marriage (pp. 59-62); quite as unsatisfactory is his presentation of the distinction between *sponsalia de presenti* and *de futuro* (pp. 63-5). The terminology may not have been too clear, but it is surely clear enough that *sponsalia de presenti* were in fact an actual valid marriage contract, yet Dr Ullmann can write: 'a validly contracted and consummated marriage had to give place to a mere promise, unless the words used were those "de futuro"' (p. 65). It is quite evident that the truth of this would be that a marriage was invalidly contracted by a person already bound by *sponsalia de presenti*, because these constituted a previous valid marriage and not espousals in the other sense of a promise of marriage, since all 'mere promises' are *de futuro*. Dr Ullmann here makes one of his rare references to modern canon law, saying that canon 1017 does not adhere to the medieval point of view. Canon 1017 is evidently not relevant to a discussion of *sponsalia de presenti*, all *sponsalia* now being *de futuro*, and marriage being invalid unless celebrated in due form before a parish priest, but the law is substantially the same; a previously validly contracted marriage, even if unconsummated, while it subsists still renders invalid any subsequent attempted marriage, even if followed by cohabitation. Dr Ullmann's treatment of papal dispensations from oaths suffers from the same impatience with quite rational distinctions (pp. 65 sqq.).

This example may suffice for an indication of Dr Ullmann's treatment of the main subjects of his book; if *The Pope and Natural Law* is thus presented, it will be evident that papal plenitude of power, the idea of the papal world monarchy, and the relations of pope and emperor do not find in him too sympathetic an interpreter. With regard to the papal world monarchy, for example, he is so far from interpreting the rather general statements of some of the early canonists in the light of later clearer terminology and doctrine already implicit in them that he in fact on occasion makes the opposite view explicit in them, as by translating *subjecta ecclesiae* 'subjected to the jurisdictional power of the church' (p. 120). He writes: 'the medieval conception of a world government was identical with that of an absolute world monarchy, the only form of government that appealed to, and was favoured by, the



medieval mind', nowhere making it clear that no medieval canonist ever supported absolutism in the modern sense in which it is claimed not only by dictators but by 'democratic' parliaments, since they all held any law invalid that infringed the law of God, natural or positive.

No attempt has been made to examine all Dr Ullmann's references, but one note in particular appeared to call for investigation, with interesting results. Dr Ullmann writes (p. 82, n.): 'St Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, II, ii, qu. 60, art. 6 (ad tertium) states: "Potestas saecularis subditur spirituali, sicut corpus animae, ut dicit Gregorius Nazianzenus, oratione 17, et ideo . . ." A check-up will not corroborate St Thomas's reference.' This alone might have provoked a check-up on Dr Ullmann, but he does not stop here; still more rashly he exposes St Thomas as making a very curious use of his sources, continuing: "All that St Gregory said was 'Quod enim corpori cibus est, hoc in animo est sermo', Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, Vol. XXXV, oratio 17, col. 966." This added to the provocation, but Dr Ullmann goes on to express a further judgement of a kind we are accustomed to and have to make every effort to correct: 'It would have been remarkable had this statement been made as early as the fourth century'. We need not linger on this view of the century of St Ambrose; it is enough to say that it is hard to imagine why Dr Ullmann thought that St Thomas was referring to the phrase he quotes rather than to the following: 'Nam vos quoque (principes et praefecti) imperio meo ac throno lex Christi subjicit. Imperium enim nos quoque gerimus; addo etiam praestantius ac perfectius: nisi vero aequum sit spiritum carni et caelestia terrenis cedere' (Migne, loc. cit. col. 975).

In conclusion, it may be said that although the defects of this book are conspicuous, Dr Ullmann has evidently accumulated a great mass of material, and it is hoped that he may be able in due course to produce a more adequate statement of medieval canonical doctrine. Meanwhile *Medieval Papalism* has information and knowledge of value, if insufficient wisdom and understanding, to offer to the student or other *lecteur averti*.

DOM THEODORE RICHARDSON.

*A History of the Crusades* by Steven Runciman. Vol. I, The first Crusade and the Foundation of Jerusalem (Cambridge University Press) 25s.

Major events of history tend to be re-assessed every generation or two. The angle of vision of historian and public changes.

Different points are thrown into relief and appear to be the key factors, even where no new information has come to light. This is particularly true of the crusades whose historians are almost all, whether consciously or unconsciously, partisan. Moreover, the canvas across which the crusaders move is exceptionally wide and only if it is taken in its entirety can one hope to have a balanced picture. It is not merely an individual historian but an age that may be ill or well equipped to paint such a scene. Gibbon and the eighteenth century vilified the crusades. The Gothic revival and the nineteenth century romanticized them. The twentieth century has taken its stand too exclusively on their own ground: the Norman lands, Lorraine and France. Indeed the English historians of the Europe of this period tended even twenty years ago to deal almost exclusively with France, Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. The Byzantine empire and Spain might not have existed. The Arab and Turkish world belonged to another sphere of learning, except as a necessary background to the European scene. Moreover an abrupt line was drawn between the classical period and the 'Dark' and Middle Ages, less possible now that Byzantine history has come into its own.

The present book transcends all these limitations. But perhaps it is the resuscitation and understanding of Byzantine history during the last years that more than any other thing gives it its new angle on the crusades. The author looks at the crusade with the eye of Alexius, of an older, more sophisticated, more learned, more diplomatic and more worldly-wise civilization, looking uneasily at the 'defence' of the Christian world by a young barbarian Christianity, quarrelsome, blood-thirsty, indisciplined, avaricious and treacherous. The author does his best to give good marks to the crusaders for genuine piety amongst them and to distinguish those of good faith, but for all that one feels that a little less than justice is done to them. One is never allowed to catch that flame of real devotion that did exist (if not all the time among all the crusaders), as one might by an occasional longer quotation from the crusading chronicles being allowed to speak for itself. Moreover, the contrast of barbarian West and civilized East is rather overdrawn. A young civilization is of a totally different character, but the arts of civilization were not wholly absent in the West, in the visual arts of a very high order. But this book is more interesting than were those of a high and mighty 'enlightenment' in that it opposes not different ages but different yet exactly contemporary civilizations.

The book begins by tracing the history of the Holy Places and pilgrimage to them from the beginnings of Christianity, through their pagan, Christian and Moslem possession down to the time of the Fatimid empire, when relations and trade with the East Christian empire were good and pilgrimages peaceful. Then came all the irruptions and confused wars of the Turkish tribes from the hinterland. (Here one would be very glad of a map to elucidate an always confusing subject.) They drove a wedge between the Byzantine and Fatimid empires and took territory from both. The Byzantine emperor began to be in need of and to seek mercenary aid from the West. The Byzantine, Fatimid and Turkish background is excellently drawn in the first eighty pages. It has never been so well done.

Then the scene shifts to the turbulent and divided West, full of yet more turbulent Norman invaders, with an empire and church at enmity. It is one of the special merits of this book to bring out so clearly the gradual development of the idea of a crusade, a holy war, through the coalescence of different factors. There were the efforts to put some restraint on the barons' passion for fighting by means of the 'Truce of God' and 'Peace of God', taken up enthusiastically as an *idea*, but seldom strong enough to restrain them in fact. Then there were the efforts to divert their fighting activities from attacks on their fellow Christians to attacks against the infidel in Spain where first the 'Holy War' came to birth. The Spanish scene is more than touched upon. The author always makes his point adequately.

The Christian East needs more soldiers, the Christian West fewer quarrelsome and belligerent men; the infidel is in possession of the Holy Places, Holy War is already being waged against the infidel in Spain. The scene is set for a crusade. Nothing however could have more surprised and horrified Alexius, hoping for mercenaries under his own command, than the irruption into his empire of large, undisciplined and independent armies. His skill, diplomacy and good provisioning arrangements in getting them across his empire with the minimum of trouble and even extracting an oath of fealty for the Byzantine lands they should reconquer from all but one of the crusading leaders is particularly well told.

The appeal of the Byzantine envoys at the council of Piacenza early in 1095 had been for mercenaries in the Byzantine army, though couched in terms of an appeal for the defence of Christendom, which would recommend itself more strongly to

the bishops returning to their flocks and to the pope himself. There was not yet question of the Holy Places. It seems to have been Urban himself who conceived the tremendous germinal idea of a crusade for the Holy Places. The preaching of the crusade and its actual course are well known, though perhaps they have never been so clearly told, in a style at once so scholarly and lively, with so much mastery of the well-ordering of material. The various abortive crusades are equally well told; the 'rabble' of the 'People's Crusade', Gottschalk's appalling side-tracking of the crusading enthusiasm against the Jews on their route, the beginning of pogroms. The picture of each of the leading crusaders is clearly drawn and the importance of their provenance shown: the Normans, the Flemings, the Lorrainers, the Provençals. The author shows how the bishop of le Puy and Raymond of Toulouse alone really understood the Pope's idea, but only the bishop (who unhappily for the crusade and for Christian relations in the East, died before Antioch) had prestige enough to weld the motley force into a semblance of unity and to see that the papal wishes were carried out to respect the local Greek hierarchy who were in unity with Rome. Once Adhemar was dead there was nothing to restrain the belligerently Latin Normans and Lorrainers, scornful as they were ignorant of the ancient Christian East, and the tragedy of a Latin hierarchy, set up in opposition to the native Greek, came about and forced a schism. In fact the behaviour of the crusaders hardened the whole situation in the East and we are still reaping the whirlwind.

It was responsible for the hardening into enmity of the relations with them of all their non-Christian neighbours. They attacked the Fatamid empire (hitherto friendly), as well as the Turks and their massacre of the whole Moslem and Jewish population of Jerusalem made every other town hold out to the last and surrounded them with a hatred that jeopardized the stability of their work from the beginning, even their work as they conceived it, with Latin principalities in the East. The bulk of crusaders went home, and the principalities could only survive in some degree of alliance with their neighbours.

Their lack of faith with the East Christian empire, even their childish bad manners, but more their breaking of oaths and grabbing of territory from the empire as well as the infidel; this and their fantastic setting up of a rival hierarchy in defiance of pope and Eastern bishops alike, are probably responsible

more than any other single factor,<sup>1</sup> for the spread and hardening of the Schism of East and West. This book gives the evidence, emphatic and clear, probably one of its main interests for readers of this periodical.<sup>2</sup>

E. J. B. FRY.

*Kyrillos Loukaris* by the Most Reverend Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira. Pp. 31 (S.P.C.K.) 1s. 3d.

The sub-title explains that this pamphlet describes the struggle for preponderance between Catholic and Protestant powers in the Orthodox East. In Pastor's *History of the Popes* about seven volumes are devoted to this period, so the attempt to condense all this into some thirty-one pages can hardly be satisfactory. This is a pity, since the period is fascinating and the enigmatic patriarch of Constantinople deserves better treatment.

In the thesis the Jesuits are made the villains but they seem the only sincere men, the other persons on the stage are simply the servants of politics or commerce, including Loukaris. He, however, stands out as the champion of the Orthodox wherever they may happen to be: Egypt, Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia, or Constantinople. He was in this no mere nationalist. He was out to defeat Rome in all these fields.

The real problem is how far by Rome is meant the Church's general build-up in Europe and the work of the popes for reunion, or the foreign policy of France and Austria protecting their commerce against England and Holland, their rivals in the Levant? Again how far was Loukaris, in turning to the Protestant powers, moved by political motives or religious convictions? Archbishop Germanos admits that Loukaris was the author of the *Confession*. Perhaps in his heart Loukaris held Protestant views but he must have known that his Orthodox flock would never follow him along the road of the Reformation.

Archbishop Germanos, like Loukaris and also many Catholics of the period failed to understand the real theological value of the Uniates and so is not fair in his presenting of facts.

It is not without significance that a painting of Loukaris

<sup>1</sup> With the possible exception of the fourth Crusade, and later the cut and dried, unhistorical attitude of the post-Tridentine West and the Turkish sealing off of the East.

<sup>2</sup> One slip may be noted for any further edition: on page 187 the sacrament of Extreme Unction is written 'Supreme Unction'.

hangs in the Lollards tower at Lambeth Palace. The frontispiece is a copy of this.

The present Orthodox bishops are more loyal in proclaiming and guarding the faith of their Church!

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*Le Mystère du Culte dans les Sermons de St Grégoire de Nysse*  
by Jean Daniélou, S.J.

Not a book, but a short monograph reprinted from a theological journal, P. Daniélou's study calls attention to the wealth of St Gregory's teaching on the Christian Mysteries. Mystery is the key-word and must be rightly understood. How shameful it is for the catechumens to be put out of the church at the moment of the 'Mysteries, as though they were children incapable of keeping a secret'. Let them, he says, be united to us, fully-formed Christians, and pronounce with us the words which we sing together with the seraphim. Let them desire the Mystery which invisibly restores the aged to their youth. His language is that of the mystery religions christianized. He speaks of the *perfect*, the *initiate*, the *mystagogy*, and he calls the priests *mystagogues*, and the baptized laity '*mysts*'. Baptism is the *tradition of the Mystery*, for it is the gate to the Sacraments. Not only Baptism and the Eucharist are *μυστικά ἔθη καὶ σύμβολα*, but also the *sphragis*, the Lord's Prayer, the confession, and the keeping of the commandments, and above all the feasts of the liturgical year, among which Easter is the Great Mystery. Easter is the accomplishment of the entire Old Testament. The blessing of Abraham, the Sabbath, the lamb caught in the thicket, all those were types, figures and eikons of what was to come. If Easter and Pentecost are prolongations of Jewish festivals, Christmas is rather the festival of the *Sol invictus* of the pagans, while at the same time being the fulfilment of the festival of Tabernacles—it is the building of the Tabernacle of the New Covenant which is the Humanity of Jesus. It is the true *Skenopegia*. (Here we may legitimately enquire why the connexion with the festival of the Dedication, *Chanukah*, has been overlooked, which the Jews to this day observe at about the same time and in much the same way as we keep Christmas.) St Gregory deals with the *logoi* (prophecies) and *phonai* (psalms) of the Old Testament, as they are used in Christian worship, and it is especially upon the latter that he comments at length, for the liturgical chant is the sign of a restoration to unity of spiritual creation, and of the reintegration of men into the society



of the angels. Words and actions form the liturgy: the Christian cult is a real transformation of human nature by the power of God, and this applies not only to the sacramental life but also to the ascetical. St Gregory prefers to treat of the sacramental life, and this is well illustrated by his interpretation of the Canticle of Canticles as a Mystery of Baptismal initiation. The theory of Oscar Cullmann, which P. Daniélou quotes, calls the Sacraments the continuation in the Church of the great works of God, of the Wonders of the Old and New Testaments.

R.G.R.

*The Fullness of Christ. The Church's Growth into Catholicity.*  
Pp. 89 (S.P.C.K.) 3s. 6d.

This report, made by a group of Anglican Evangelicals at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, can be divided into three parts: an analysis of the tensions at work in Anglicanism, a historical examination of the factors which have created the present situation, and the suggestion of appropriate remedies.

We do not intend to examine in detail the first two points; the analysis seems to us in substance very exact though the detailed exposé of differences betrays an imprecision which would sometimes require an important correction. In this respect we may cite, for example, the lack of understanding of the Catholic doctrine of merit. Catholic theologians, who admit that man is radically incapable of disposing himself positively for the reception of grace even by acts which are naturally good, will never understand how they can be accused of basing the justification of the sinner, even in part, on good works (p. 59). And when they see that justification by faith alone, conceived as a personal response to the infusion of grace, is opposed to their position, they will understand still less (pp. 17, 57). The 'merit' of which they speak, is it anything other than this personal response which is in any case itself purely a divine grace. They will certainly be surprised at the interpretation which the report gives of the mentality of the reformers, but what they will certainly see as a historical infidelity to the thought of the reformers shows in fact a return to conceptions much closer to their own than to those of Luther.

In short, the analysis given in this report of the present situation and of its origins is extremely suggestive and most interesting. The moderate tone of the report raises us well

above the level of polemics and makes it attractive and fruitful to read. It might well serve as a starting point for excellent conversations between specialists, conversations which are more necessary than ever and which would help to get rid of misunderstandings which have existed for far too long.

On the other hand, the suggestions made in the report as a preparation for agreement must be considered with much greater reserve. As the sub-title of the report leads one to suppose, these suggestions seem to be based on an inadmissible presupposition—that no understanding of the Christian message here below will ever be exempt from error and corruption (pp. 1-7). But here too let us note honestly that there are limits to the flexibility of doctrines and that a certain tolerance does not necessarily imply a general relativism (pp. 7-13).

The report pictures the religious groups as not waiting until doctrinal differences are absorbed in order to reunite. It believes that these differences cannot be worked out except in the atmosphere of charity and mutual understanding which only intercommunion can create.

Psychologically such a position would be tenable and would be worth trying if it were a question of working together to acquire something which none of those concerned possessed—marriage is a good example and the result is sometimes a success. But if it is not a question of acquiring but of accepting? If Christian truth is not something which we achieve but a point of depart? If faith is not the end of a conquest we undertake but the beginning of a life which we receive? Such is in fact the Catholic conception and the profound source of our division. The Church of God is not *marching towards* unity but *grows up in* Unity. We hope that this report will be read and meditated attentively by Catholic theologians it is a document of first importance which will stimulate and enlighten all those who are unable to remain indifferent before our divisions.

Louvain.

J. GONSETTE, S.J.

*Revelation and the Modern World. Being the first part of a treatise on The Form of the Servant* by L. S. Thornton, C.R. Pp. xx and 339 (Dacre Press, 1950) 30s.

This is a very important book to which we would like to draw the attention of Catholic theologians. Since the theme is Revelation, Scripture, Tradition, and Church it is inevitably

one on which Catholics will find themselves in disagreement but the frequency with which one finds illuminating comment will make it for them too most profitable reading. The author is steeped in biblical theology and develops his theme within that framework though the second half of the book gives great prominence to St Ignatius who the author rightly holds to be so saturated in biblical thought as to be part of that scriptural framework.

The book is a model of indexing—every chapter is prefaced in each of its sections by an analysis of the argument, an analysis which is also given at the beginning of the volume. At the end of the volume indices are devoted to scriptural references (5 pages of 3 columns each!) references to other ancient writings, persons, and subjects and a bountiful use is made of cross-references throughout. *O si sic omnes!*

The relation of the Old Testament to the New is discussed in some excellent pages and the special revelation of scripture to the wider revelation in the order of creation and again of scripture to church tradition. There are some most acute remarks on liberalism in this section.

But it is in developing his theme of the oneness of redemptive history through creation, scriptural revelation and the Church that the author gives of his richest.

'The image of God in its completeness has been manifested in Christ and is being reproduced in all his members. The image so extended includes the 'all things' of creation. All was originally created in the form of the Servant; and all is now being restored to that form in him who has ever shown it forth by his unchanging obedience to the Father. Yet there are also distinctions. The traces only of the Servant's form can be discerned in the order of creation as a whole; its detailed representation is unveiled in scripture, but its genuine lineaments appear most clearly in regenerate humanity, in personal character and in relationships between persons. Ultimately these involve all the other factors in creation, because of the mediatorial function which has been assigned to man. So the bride of Christ shares in her Saviour's work of reconciling all things to the Father; and the Servant's form is imprinted alike upon her structure and upon her mission to mankind' (p. 325).

Theologians will await with interest the second part of this treatise.

E.M.J.

*St Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments.*  
 Edited by Frank Leslie Cross. Pp. 80 (S.P.C.K.) 12s. 6d.

Dr Cross in the note of introduction says that this edition is primarily prepared to meet the need in the Faculty of Theology at Oxford. The translation is that prepared by R. W. Church for the *Library of the Fathers*. There are thirty pages of excellent introduction, thirty-nine of text and forty of translation.

The *Procatechesis* and *Mystagogical Catechesis* of St Cyril of Jerusalem are of the utmost value in the study of the early liturgies and sacramental theology. St Cyril was the first [recorded] to consider that the petition to the Holy Ghost brought about the conversion of the elements in the Holy Eucharist. He also stresses the theology of the propitiatory sacrifice. He follows the early African teaching as regards to the re-baptism of heretics.

This is a most important book.

K.F.E.W.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Ernest Benn : *Summing-up on Russia*, Stephen Graham.

The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland : *Treatises on Marriage and Re-Marriage*, Tertullian (trans. W. P. Le Saint, S.J.).

S.P.C.K. : *St Tikhon Zadonsky*, N. Gorodetzky.

S.C.M. Press : *The Church*, ed. Rev. Dr Newton Flew ; *Ways of Worship*.

W. C. of C., London : *Report of Commission on Faith and Order*, 1951.

Dacre Press : *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, R. S. Bosher.

Sheed & Ward : *Beyond East and West*, J. C. H. Wu.

## REVIEWS

*Proche-Orient Chrétien* : Jerusalem.

*Oriente* : Madrid.

*Studia Anselmiana* : Rome.

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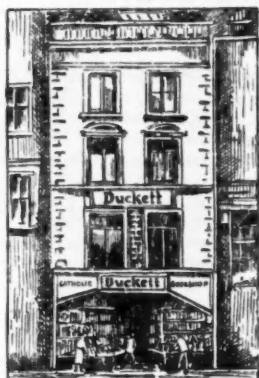
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